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At Lapaha was a priestess named (or entitled) Poula whom the Tui Tonga consulted. She resided at the site now occupied by the dwelling house of the Catholic priests. For what god she officiated, I could not learn. She was no doubt the medium through which the Tui Tonga communicated with a patron deity, quite possibly Hikuleo.

The Tui Tonga appealed to the gods when he was ill, just like any other chief. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 453) gives an account of the illness of Fuanunuiava.

By far the most important ceremony in which the Tui Tonga functioned was the great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods. The word *inasi*, meaning to divide, to share, to apportion, is applied especially to food, and in the great *inasi* ceremony food and models of yams were brought as offerings. Although the food was brought to the Tui Tonga and the ceremony impossible without him, the appeal came from the people to the gods, the Tui Tonga evidently acting as intermediary. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that the Tui Tonga, being the most exalted of males, was needed in person at the ceremony in order to insure the favor of the gods. It is unfortunate that no further data on the *inasi* could be obtained in 1920 and 1921. However, the accounts of early voyagers refer to this ceremony.

Farmer (23, p. 129) says definitely, upon the authority of the Methodist missionary Thomas, that Hikuleo was the deity for whom the *inasi* was performed.

Perhaps the great *inasi* included offerings to the royal dead as well as to Hikuleo, the ruler of the realm of the dead, for seventeen royal tombs in Tongatabu received shares (*inasi*) of offerings during ceremonies at the sanctuary Fanakava in Lapaha, Tongatabu: Fangaloto, Folokomanu, Matamoana, Makamaka, Heketa, Moungalafa, Leka, Tofaua, Tauatonga, Taetaea, Tauhakeleva, Mau, Katoa, Paepae o Telea, Namoala, Tuofefafa, Tuoteau.

Misui Mafileo, an aged informant, described to me a *kotoni* ceremony (or perhaps entertainment) which he witnessed in Lapaha in his youth and at which the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a matapule named Toamalanga presided. Laufilitonga and Toamalanga formed the *mua* (focus, center, or head) of the ceremony. Laufilitonga was seated under a *koka* tree against which he leaned. Toamalanga sat beside him. The green (*malae*) of Feingakotone was the scene of the performance. Toamalanga's family wore oiled white tapa (*vakai*) in enormous folds around the waist.

Many people ("all the people in Tonga") were present. There were six or seven groups of warriors armed with clubs made from coconut fronds dried two days in the sun. The club bearers formed two lines of thirty to forty men each. On one side were men from Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, Vavau, Haapai, Eua, Fuaamotu in Tongatabu, and all the Hahake District

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of Tongatabu. On the other side were men from Vaini, Folaha, Pea, and Nukualofa (all in the Loto [middle] District of Tongatabu), from Hihifo District of Tongatabu, and from Fiji. These two lines of antagonists fought a *falalafa* (a sham battle with coconut fronds). Apparently a blow anywhere was fair. The people of Eua were particularly expert at this game. Toamalanga controlled the combat. When he thought that it had progressed far enough he ordered the Hihifo party to desist: "Loloi matanga ki Hihifo." (Sit down all westerners.) When they had responded, he ordered the Hahake (Eastern) party down. Immediately they sat down. Then Toamalanga made a speech in which he admonished the people: "Behave well because his majesty the Tui Tonga (Afio ae Tui Tonga) is here. Do not fight and make trouble."

After Toamalanga's speech the people again stood up. The priests (*taula tevolo*) of various places and (or) their representatives had brought yams called *ufinahaki* (sick yam) the significance of which I could not learn. The representative of the priest of Holonga brought the first yam. Two men carried a long coconut-leaf basket (*fakaloumasi*) on a pole. The basket contained only banana leaves, most of the real yams being piled up behind the assembled people. Then followed the representative of the priest of Vaini with a real yam (*kahokaho*, a kind particularly reserved for chiefs). Next followed the representatives of the priest of Houma, also with a *kahokaho* yam. Hamula was next in line[8]. In carrying the yams each of these places was represented by three men. Two men supported the ends of the pole on their shoulders, the third supported the yam with his hand. The pole was carried on the left shoulder. Each of the bearers carried a war spear of toa or *fehi* wood in his right hand, and brandished it. One man from Hamula lacked a spear but brandished his hand. In addition, the families, of the priests, both males and females, carried yams. All sang, "Nofo fei moeke nofo oua e ngaue." (We have come from work.)

As the yams were being carried past the Tui Tonga he arose to depart, the people doing the same immediately he had left. The yams were carried to the sanctuary of Fanakava and there cooked and eaten by the priests and people present. None were taken to the Tui Tonga, for it was forbidden to take anything from the premises of a god.

To-day when food is presented to the king, no club fight or other activities accompany the presentation as in the past.

TOMBS OF THE TUI TONGA

The tombs of the Tui Tonga were spoken of as langi (sky). (See p. 125, for list of langi.) The Tui Tonga himself was also called Langi at times. The tombs are usually faced with dressed rectangular slabs of stone and consist of one or more terraces, so that they are often truncated

[8] The priest of Hamula was named Kavakimotu. A man of the same title is chief now.

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only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of *losi* leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*. young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood (some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. If commoners ate pigeons they were purished by whipping or even death. Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring.

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen. X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was

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In some games the chief is given a handicap over opponents of lesser rank. In the game of dart throwing (*sika mamao*) in which the greatest distance thrown determines the winner, if the chief's dart were almost the winner, it would be turned over lengthwise so as to lie ahead of the leading dart. My informant had an impression that the chief's dart might be turned over three times, that is, the chief be given a handicap of three lengths, but not more. From this custom originated the proverbial expression *sii kae amo* (small but successful), which implies that although one has not displayed much energy or skill in an enterprise yet he has succeeded thanks to the assistance of someone else.

The *fekesike* method of fishing was never used by anyone but a chief who could muster the necessary numbers required (43), consequently a *fekesike* rope always belonged to a chief.

Not every chief has the word *tui* (lord) in his title. Various informants were under the impression that the term *tui* in connection with a name indicated higher rank than *eiki* (chief). One informant said that chiefs with the word *tui* in the title (specifically Tui Haa Teiho and Tui Haa Ngana) were in line to become Tui Tonga in event of the lack of a direct successor, whereas a chief like Ulukalala or Malupo was not.

Special rest places, mounds (*esi*), with a shade tree growing on or beside them, were built for chiefs. Sunshade or picnic shelters (*falekakala*, house of flowers) were also erected. The *esi* were given names. (See 25.)

A chief's sitting position is legs crossed and left foot on right knee (*faefakaheka*). When sitting among his inferiors, a pile of mats (*langolango* is provided to raise him above the common level.

In Tonga there seem to have been no official jesters, but at times certain individuals, termed *fakaaluma* or *fakatakataka*, who were considered particularly witty, took it upon themselves to amuse the chiefs. For example, Kaho, a man of Vavau, acted as *fakaaluma* for Akauola (grandfather of the present Akauola) and made fun of the people. He would say anything to make Akauola laugh. On one occasion he had himself tied like a pig and carried to a feast. My informant did not know whether this man was appointed. Akauola is one of the modern landed royal navigators (*toutai*).

A warrior who killed ten men and brought the heads as evidence was highly regarded and might be raised to the rank of a matapule or a petty chief (*eikisii*) and be given land; or again he might be given the privilege of drinking his chief's kava when it was called.

Anciently the staff (*tokotoko*) and the fly whisk (*fue*) were used by kings and chiefs but not by matapules. To-day, it is said, anyone may use them. The staff was used formerly not only in walking but to lean upon when addressing an assemblage. To-day the term *tokotoko* applies to the

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is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candlę nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

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the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form, although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called *mesini,* over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua,* the name apparently containing the stem *tupua* which refers to the original gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa* refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods. The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua, the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them (66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was worshipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

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and rejoicing were started on the mound. This went on whilst the approaching pigeons grew successively as large mosquitoes and as flies; but when they appeared as large as the *misi* bird (*Aplonis tabucusis*) the rejoicings were stopped. The chief man of the hunt took no part in these rejoicings, but sat quietly where the kava was served, and was said to be paying his reverence to the mound by his silence and non-participation.

A sport in which people formed a long line through the bush and then moved forward straight ahead, each man shooting with bow and arrow whatever came in his way was called *lautele*. Everything that was shot counted, according to one account even butterflies or flies. When they had come to the spot set as the end of the beat, they counted trophies and the man who had most won. The place where the sport was to be held was announced beforehand, and if a human being strayed into the place he was liable to become a trophy for one of the hunters.

MYTHOLOGY

The Tongan mythology, in general, resembles Samoan mythology rather than that of New Zealand and eastern Polynesia. Propinquity of the two groups would lead one to expect this. It deals both both with the great gods and the lesser gods. No migration tales enter into Tongan tradition, for people are regarded as created in Tonga, not elsewhere.

The subject of Tongan mythology has been quite fully covered by Collocott and me (26), and these works give references to myths published by other writers.

The following myth was recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley:

On the eminence called Toloke [in Haano Island] in the very old days stood a god house and the keepers (there was no priest, as was often the case) were two old men, one blind, the other deaf. Now, Kui was the name of the blind one and Tuli that of the deaf. As the house was in need of a new pillar, they set to work to chop down a big toa tree. After infinite labor (they had only stone axes) the tree came crashing to earth. Whilst they were felling it a man named Mafi, who lived on the other side of the island, heard the blows of the axe and as his house, too, was needing repairs, he thought that it would be a saving of labor if he could by some means steal it. Mafi was a giant amongst men, although men were giants in those days.

Creeping softly up to where the immense tree was lying he carefully hid himself, patiently watching his chance. Presently it came. He heard Tuli tell Kui to stand by the tree, lest it should be stolen as he was going to get another axe. When Tuli had gone Mafi stepped out of his place of concealment and, imitating Tuli's voice, said: "Kui, feel about to know whether the tree has not been stolen."

Kui replied, as he put his hand on it, "No, the tree is still here."

Then Mafi stepping gently seized hold of the butt of another log about the same size and, pulling out the freshly chopped tree, substituted for it the log. Then he again said, "Kui, is the tree still there?"

"Yes," answered the blind man. Then Mafi commenced to drag his tree to the sea, and he had only got to the edge of the reef when Tuli came in sight and promptly gave chase. Mafi then grabbed the small end of the tree and started to run along the reef, the tide being out, dragging his stolen property after. Round the point of the island he went with Tuli after him, but Mafi got to his house first. Although the tree has long since rotted, Mafi's house is scattered to the four winds, and not a sign remains of the god house, yet the track where the tree was dragged is plainly visible in the reef, like a long trench from Toloke to the other side of the island.

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columns of yams in the following manner: four poles, about eighteen feet long, were fixed upright in the ground, to the depth of a few feet, at about four feet distance from each other in a quadrangular form; the spaces between them, all the way to the top, being crossed by smaller poles about six inches distant from each other, and lashed on by the bark of the *fow* (species of the Hibiscus); the interior of this erection being filled up as they proceeded with yams; and afterwards other upright poles were lashed on to the top with cross pieces in like manner, still piling up the yams; then a third set of poles, &c., till the column of yams was about fifty or sixty feet high, when on the top of all was placed a cold baked pig. Four such columns were erected, one at each corner of the *malái*, the day before the ceremony, and three or four hundred hogs were killed, and about half baked. The following day the hogs were carried to the king's *malái*, about a quarter of a mile off, and placed upon the ground before the house, as well as four or five wooden cars or sledges full of yams, each holding about five hundred. While this was doing, and the people assembling from all quarters, those who were already arrived sat themselves down round the king's *malái*. Occasionally some of them got up to amuse themselves and the rest of the com-

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pany by wrestling with one another. The king and his chiefs, all dressed in plaited *gnatoo*, were already seated in the house, viewing what was going forward. The company being, at length, all arrived, and having seated themselves, the king gave notice that the ceremony was to begin. The young chiefs and warriors, and those who prided themselves in their strength, then got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry off the largest hog: when one failed, another tried; then a third, and so on, till every one that chose had made a trial of his strength. To carry one of the largest hogs is not a thing easy to be done, on account of its greasiness as well as its weight; but it affords a considerable share of diversion to see a man embracing a large fat baked hog, and endeavouring to raise it on his shoulder. As the hog was found too heavy for one man's strength, it was carried away by two, whilst a third followed with its liver. They were deposited on the ground near Tooitonga's *malái*, where the men waited till the other hogs were brought. In the mean time the trial was going on with the second hog, which being also found too heavy for one man, was carried away by two in like manner; and so on with the third, fourth, &c., the largest being carried away first, and the least last. The second, third, fourth, &c. afforded more sport than the first,

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hand of Finow and his matabooles; at their terminations stood the Hapai people on the one side, and the new-comers (most of them Hapai people also), on the other, so as to be opposite to each other, both parties being furnished with clubs made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut tree. The prince, who was also armed with a club, stood up among his Hamoa companions.

The two brides were now conducted by their female attendants from the house of Finow (near the *malái*). They were dressed in the finest Hamoa mats *, but not in such profusion as described in Tooitonga's marriage, and were veiled in the finest *gnatoo*. They were led into the house on the *malái*, and seated on bales also of the finest *gnatoo*. Here their feet, hands, faces, and breasts, were anointed with a mixture of sandal-wood oil, and the purest turmeric, producing a deep orange tint on their skins. They remained seated in this place, to be spectators of the combat that was about to ensue between the inhabitants of Hapai and their friends from Hamoa.

The two parties being ready, the challenges

* These mats are made entirely by hand, and when very fine and large, occupy two years making; this renders them exceedingly valuable. They are so exquisitely manufactured, that one would suppose them to be woven by a loom,

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634 were given in the following way: a man from
585 one side runs over to the opposite party and
526 sits down before it; he then makes a sign to
648 know if any one will engage with him: the person who chooses to accept the challenge comes forward brandishing his club, when the two combatants proceed to the middle of the circle, each attended by one from his own party to assist as second. They next determine whether they shall fight after the Tonga or Hamoa fashion; the difference of which is, that the Hamoa custom allows a man to beat his antagonist after he is knocked down, as long as he perceives signs of motion: the Tonga mode, on the contrary, only allows him to flourish his club over his fallen foe, and the fight is at an end. This point being agreed on, the two champions for the applause of the multitude begin to engage. When they have finished, another party comes on in the same way. Sometimes there are three or four sets of combatants engaged at the same time. When a man gains a victory, his own party gives a shout of approbation, *wo woo, á ma to, i oi, i, oi**;

[104] * The words of this exclamation have, separately, no particular meaning: in respect to the pronunciation, the *o* in *woo* must be dwelt on at least five seconds; the *a* is to be sounded as in ah! tar, &c. the *i* as *e* in he, we, &c.: the whole is given in a sort of recitative, and very slowly.—

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the champion then advances towards the chief 634
who presides at the head of the circle (in this 585
instance the king), sits down before him, out 526
of respect, then rises immediately, and returns 648
to his own party.

Such was the mode in which these club-fights were conducted: the prince engaged in several of them, and performed great feats of bravery: he fought no less than fourteen or fifteen battles, and always came off victorious.

The fighting with clubs being over, at a signal from Finow, the boxing and wrestling matches commenced. As their performances [128]
in these ways have been so accurately described by Captain Cook, it would be unnecessary to enter here into a detail.

These feats being concluded, the prince and 634
his chiefs retired to the neighbouring houses to 585
dress their heads with a sort of turban, made [292]
of white *gnatoo*, ornamented with small red feathers. Thus equipped, they returned to the *malái*, when the chiefs sat down again among their own party, and the prince went up to his two brides, who were still sitting in the house, raised them up, one by each hand, and led them forth upon the *malái* amid the acclamations of

N. B. when an *e* occurs in the Tonga language, it must be pronounced like *a* in date, late, &c. For farther particulars on the subject of pronunciation, see the grammar. [104]

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to the bottom of the *malái* with a slow and dignified step, and then returned, amid the same acclamations, into the house, and re-seated them upon the bales of *gnatoo;* after which he commenced a dance on the *malai* with the young chiefs, who had put on turbans. This dance was also after the manner of the Navigator's islands, and seemed to afford the people much entertainment: in Mr. Mariner's opinion, there was not so great an exhibition of agility as in their own dances, but equally as much grace, and somewhat more attitude. In the mean time the brides were conducted to the residence of the bridegroom. The dance being concluded, the provisions were shared out: the two larger portions were allotted, by Finow's orders, to the new comers, (to be disposed of afterwards as they thought proper): the next largest was shared out to all foreigners, viz. natives of Fiji, Hamoa, the island of Fotoona, &c.; and the remaining heap, at an appointed signal, was scrambled for by all who chose to try their speed and dexterity. This last scene afforded great diversion to all the spectators. The baked pig on the top of the heap was soon brought down, and pulled about in a most miserable way; being torn piece-meal, and so covered with sand and dirt as to be quite uneatable. The ceremony was now concluded by a

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general boxing-match; the men from the north of the island combating those from the south; till at length the men of the north drove their opponents entirely off the ground. On occasions of such fights the combatants are allowed to wear turbans, to resemble more nearly a real fight. It must here be observed that turbans are not allowed to be worn but in time of war, and then only by those who are going to battle, unless on occasions of formal rejoicings like the present, or at night-time by chiefs and matabooles, or by the common people when at work in the fields or in canoes. On all other occasions, to wear a head-dress would be disrespectful; for although no chief be present, yet some god may be at hand unseen. This custom is kept up with such strictness, that if a man were to wear a head-dress on other occasions, he would be sure to be knocked down by the first person he met who was a superior, and even, perhaps, if he were an equal. On occasions, when a turban is allowed to be worn, it must be removed from the head when a superior happens to approach (unless in time of actual battle); but it is usual for the superior to say to one who is not much inferior, "*toogoo ho fow*," keep on your *fow*,—as we would say, keep on your hat,—which compliment is generally accepted. The king used frequently to tell Mr.

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as the unfavourableness of the opportunity, or great fatigue, or ill state of health, or badness of his ground, &c. In their games of wrestling they act up to the same principle, never to speak ill of their antagonist *afterwards*, but always to praise him. As an illustration of this character it may be remarked, that the man who called himself Fannà Fonnooa, (a great gun,) who ventured his life in his hazardous approach to Mr. Mariner, and threw his spear at the muzzle of his carronade, never afterwards boasted of it, nor appeared to think he had done any thing extraordinary, or at least worthy of after-notice. Their notions of true bravery seem to be very correct, and the light in which they viewed this act of Fannà Fonnooa serves for an example: they considered it in short a rash action, and unworthy a great and brave mind, that never risks any danger but with a moral certainty, or at least reasonable expectation, of doing some service to his cause. In these respects they accuse Europeans of a great deal of vanity and selfishness, and unfortunately with too much justice. It must be remarked, however, that these noble sentiments belong to chiefs, matabooles, and professed warriors; not much to the lowest orders, many of whom will knock a dead man about the head with a club till they have

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things of little value; and he was exceedingly sorry he had not secured all the dollars out of the Port au Prince, before he had ordered her to be burnt: "I had always thought," said he, "that your ship belonged to some poor fellow, "perhaps to king George's cook*; for captain "Cook's ship, which belonged to the king, had "plenty of beads, axes, and looking-glasses on "board, whilst yours had nothing but iron "hoops, oil, skins, and twelve thousand *páäinga* "as I thought: but if every one of these was "money, your ship must have belonged to a "very great chief indeed."

Finow and his chiefs having now remained at the Hapai islands nearly six weeks, resolved to return to Vavaoo, and the following day set sail: the prince and Mr. Mariner accompanying them. As soon as they arrived at Vavaoo, the king gave orders that all the dogs in the island, except a few that belonged to chiefs, should be killed, because they destroyed the game, particularly the *kalai;* after which he promised himself great sport with his favourite bird. As the breed of dogs was scarce at these islands, there were not more than fifty or sixty killed on

games at the end of the second volume): they supposed dollars to be used among us for a similar purpose.

* At these islands a cook is considered one of the lowest of mankind in point of rank.

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count from several of the natives of Chichia who visited Tonga.

A few days afterwards Cow Mooala set sail for Vavaoo, where he arrived safe with about fifty attendants, as formerly noted, consisting of Tonga people, natives of Fiji, and others. As soon as his arrival was made known to Finow, he issued orders to the owners of the different plantations of Vavaoo to bring to the *malái* at Neáfoo whatever they could afford, as presents to Cow Mooala and his companions*.

On this occasion there were wrestling, fighting with clubs, cava drinking, &c., as formerly described. It must be remarked, however, that when these great exhibitions of wrestling and fighting are shown on account of the arrival of visitors or persons who have been long absent, it is customary for the new comers to be challenged by any one or every one of the island who chooses, so that in the end they are pretty certain of getting a thorough beating. No man, however, is obliged to accept the challenge, nor is it thought dishonourable to refuse it: in short, as they merely beat one another in a friendly way, it is considered a sport for general entertainment, in which any

* It is always customary to make presents in this way to any newly arrived party, particularly to persons much respected, as was Cow Mooala, or who have been long absent.

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527 man may take an active part, if he feels himself
526 at all so disposed. In these encounters they
frequently get their arms broken; but this
164 gives no one any concern, scarcely even the
752 party who suffers, who immediately gets it set
527 by any one in the company, (and they are all
526 tolerably expert at this from frequent practice,)
and bound up with bandages of *gnatoo*, using
splints made from the cocoa-nut tree.

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During the whole of this day, and the following night, the body inclosed in the canoe, with the lid closely fastened down, remained in the house: in the mean time Finow issued orders for a general assembly of *all* the inhabitants of the island, to take place the ensuing morning before the house, and nobody to be absent under any pretext whatsoever, not even that of illness.

Early the following day all the people, according to Finow's orders, assembled before the house, where there was a large supply of provisions and cava for the conclusion of the ceremony. In the mean time the body was conveyed to the Fytóca, where it was deposited, inside the house, without any pomp or form, not within the grave, but on the top of it, that Finow might see the coffin whenever he pleased, and take it away with him whenever he went to a distance.

On this extraordinary occasion, which the caprice of Finow rendered a scene of rejoicing rather than of mourning, after the provisions

apt to become very inflated, it is the duty of a relation to prevent this happening to a great extent, by the practice of a most disgusting operation, viz. making a hole in some part of the abdomen, and, the mouth being applied, sucking out the putrescent fluids, and spitting them into a dish: and this is done out of love and affection for the deceased, without any apparent signs of disgust! Mr. Mariner had this from several natives of Hamoa.

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and cava were shared out, they began the entertainments of wrestling and boxing as usual at festivals. After the men had shown their strength and dexterity in these feats by single engagements, the king gave orders that all the women who resided north of the *mooa* should arrange themselves on one side, ready to combat all the women who resided south of the *mooa*, who were to arrange themselves on the other. It was not a very rare occurrence for women to fight in pairs on occasions of rejoicing; but a general engagement like this, with about fifteen hundred women on each side, was a thing altogether new, and beyond all precedent, and quite unexpected at a funeral ceremony. The women, however, readily engaged, and kept up the contest, with obstinate bravery, for about an hour, without a foot of ground being lost or gained on either side; nor would the battle have subsided then, if Finow, seeing the persevering courage of these heroines, had not ordered them to desist, the battle having cost them several sprained ancles and broken arms. They fought with a great deal of steadiness, and gave fair hits, without pulling one another's hair. The men now divided themselves in like manner into two parties, and began a general engagement, which was persisted in a considerable time with much

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fury, till at length that party which belonged to the side of the island on which Finow dwelt began to give way: instantly he rushed from the house in which he was seated, to reanimate his men by his presence and exertions, which he effected to such a degree, that the opposite party in their turn fell back, and were completely beaten off the ground.

This contest being now ended, the company dispersed, each to his respective home, whilst Finow retired to a small house, which had been built since his daughter's death, near Böóno (the large house on the *malái*); and there, feeling himself much exhausted, he laid down to rest from his fatigue. He had not been long in this posture before he found himself very ill: his respiration became difficult: he turned himself repeatedly from side to side; his lips became purple, and his under jaw seemed convulsed: from time to time he groaned deeply and most horribly: all the bystanders were much affected, the women shed a profusion of tears, and the men were occupied no doubt with the thoughts of what commotion might happen in the event of his death, what blood might be spilt, and what battles won and lost. The king, in the meanwhile, seemed perfectly sensible of his situation; he attempted to speak, but the power of utterance

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ready prepared and cooked; and also a considerable quantity prepared by Finow's own household: among these provisions was a good supply of cava root. After the chiefs, matabooles, and others, were all assembled, the provisions and cava were served out in the usual way. During this time no speech was made, nor did any particular occurrence take place. The company afterwards repaired each to his respective house, and got ready for a grand wrestling-match and entertainment of dancing the Meë too Buggi (literally, the dance, standing up with paddles. See second volume.)

During the intervals of the dances, several matabooles, warriors, and others, ran before the grave, bruising and cutting their heads with clubs, axes, &c., as proofs of their fidelity to the late chief: among them, two boys, one about twelve, the other about fourteen years of age (sons of matabooles), made themselves very conspicuous in this kind of self infliction; the youngest in particular, whose father was killed in the service of the late chief, during the great revolution at Tonga, after having given his head two or three hard knocks, ran up to the grave in a fit of enthusiasm, and dashing his club with all his force against the ground, exclaimed, "Finow! why should I attempt "thus to express my love and fidelity towards

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form a triangle; and with this horrible equipment they walked round the grave, beating their faces and heads, as before stated, with the paddles, or pinching up the skin of the breast, and sticking a spear quite through; all this, to prove their love and affection for the deceased chief.

After these exhibitions of cruelty were over, this day's ceremony (which altogether lasted about six hours) was finished by a grand wrestling-match, which being ended, every one retired to his respective house or occupation; and thus terminated the ceremony of burying the king of the Tonga islands.

Finow's character, as a politician, at least in point of ambition and design, may vie with that of any member of more civilized society; he wanted only education and a larger field of action, to make himself a thousand times more powerful than he was. Gifted by nature with that amazing grasp of mind which seizes every thing within its reach, and then, dissatisfied with what it has obtained, is ever restless in the endeavour to obtain more, how dull and irksome must have been to him the dominion of a few islands, which he did not dare to leave to conquer others, lest he should be dispossessed of them by the treachery of chiefs, and the fickleness of an undisciplined army. His

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mind, which must afford the highest pleasure to those who love to hear of acts worthy the character of human nature. On one of the days of the ceremony known by the name of *tow tow**, which is celebrated on the malái, with wrestling, boxing, &c., a young chief, of the name of Talo, entered into a wrestling-match with Hala Api Api (the young chief who, as may be recollected, was mentioned on the occasion of Toobó Nuha's assassination). It should however be noticed, that a few days before, these two had held a debate upon some subject, in which neither could convince the other. It is usual on such an occasion, to prevent all future fruitless argument upon the same topic, to settle the affair by wrestling: not that this mode is considered in the light of a knock-down argument, perfectly convincing in its nature, but it is the custom for those who hold a fruitless contention in argument, to end the affair the next opportunity, by a contention in physical strength, after which the one who is beaten seldom presumes to intrude his opinion again on the other, at least not upon the same subject. Hala Api Api therefore challenged Talo on the spot. For a long time the contest

* An offering to the god of weather, beginning at the time when the yams are full grown, and is performed every tenth day for eighty days.

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was doubtful; both well made, both men of great strength: at length, however, it was the fate of Talo to fall, and thus the contest ended. The fallen chief, chagrined at this event, could not allow, in his own mind, that his antagonist had overcome him by superior strength, but rather owing to an accidental slip of his own foot; and consequently resolved to enter the lists with him again at some future and favourable opportunity. This occasion of the ceremony of *tow tow* presenting itself, Talo left his companions and seated himself immediately opposite Hala Api Api; a conduct which plainly indicated his wish that the latter in particular should engage with him: a conduct, too, which, though sometimes adopted, is generally considered indicative of a quarrelsome disposition, because the challenge ought not to be made to one in particular, but to any individual among those of a different place or party who chooses to accept it. As soon as Hali Api Api and his friends perceived this, it was agreed among them that he alone should oppose him. In a short time Talo arose and advanced; Hala Api Api immediately closed with him and threw him, with a severe fall. At this moment the shouts of the people so exasperated Talo, (for he had made sure in his own mind of gaining a victory) that, on the impulse of passion, he struck his antagonist, whilst

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rising off him, a violent blow in the face; on which Hala Api Api threw himself in a posture of defence, and demanded if he wished to box with him: Talo, without returning an answer, snatched a *tocco tocco**, and would evidently have run him through the body if he had not been withheld. Hala Api Api, with a nobleness of spirit worthy of admiration, seemed to take no notice of this, but smiling returned to his seat amid the acclamations of the whole assembly. All applauded his greatness of soul, as conspicuous now as on other occasions; Finow in particular shewed signs of much satisfaction; and in the evening, when he was drinking cava with the matabooles, whilst this noble chief had the honour to wait on them, the king addressed himself to him, returning thanks for the presence of mind which he had proved, and his coolness of temper; which conduct had placed his superiority and bravery in a far more splendid light than if he had given way to resentment: and as to his retiring, without seeking farther to prolong the quarrel, he was convinced (he said) that he had in view nothing but the peace and happiness of the people, which would undoubtedly have been disturbed by an open rupture with a man who was at the head of so pow-

* A spear about five feet long, used by them as a walking stick, but seldom employed in battle.

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727 669 greatest respect, he said, for Finow's family; but he could not help it if some of his chiefs (as on the late occasion) made attacks upon Vavaoo, for want of other employment. One of the warriors who had been engaged in that unsuccessful expedition was now on board: he had been wounded on that occasion in the arm by a ball from Mr. Mariner's musket. About a twelvemonth before, he laid a wager with Mr. Mariner that he could not hit a mark which he put on a cocoa-nut tree at a certain distance with his musket: the bet was a pig. Mr. Mariner accepted the wager, and the king promised to pay the pig if he lost: it happened, however, that he missed, and the king lost his pig. The warrior, as soon as he saw Mr. Mariner on board, came up to him, and said, smiling, "I find you "can shoot better than you did at the cocoa-nut "tree." Mr. Mariner inquired after his wound, and was happy to find that it had got nearly well. The ball had passed through the fleshy part of the arm; his Hapai *surgeon*, however, had laid the wound considerably open, and managed it very well.

525 526 727 727 669 [152]

727 It was very ludicrous to hear the different strange excuses and apologies made by the natives, in regard to the affair of the Port au Prince, with a view to persuade the captain that *they* had nothing to do with it. Many said that they

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sonable to imagine that there are not many of the natives in whom these seeds germinate, grow up, and flourish to a very great extent; and if so, they cannot but be universally approved of and admired. If we wish for an example of these sentiments, we have one in the character of the noble Toobó Nuha, who lived as a great chief ought to do, and died like a good man. It is true he killed Toogoo Ahoo; but a native would observe, that in doing it he freed Tonga from the dominion of an oppressive and cruel tyrant. After that period he remained a faithful tributary chief to his brother the king; and when he was told that his brother was concerned in plotting his assassination, and that it would be better for him always to go armed, his disinterested reply was, that if his life was of no use to the king he was ready to die, and that he would not arm himself against him as long as the country was well governed!—He afterwards associated with his secret enemies without arms, and when the first unkind blow was given, his only exclamation was addressed pathetically to his brother, thus, "Oh, Finow, am I to be killed?" He said no more, but instinctively parrying off the blows with his arms till they were both broken, he received them on his head, and fell a prostrate victim to the malice of his enemies. We have another noble instance of

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disinterestedness and generosity in the person of Hala A'pi A'pi, in his liberal conduct towards his friend Talo (see vol. ii. p. 7). He said afterwards that he knew very well that Talo was no coward, but that a little petulance or disappointed vanity had occasioned him to make the first false step, of which he was afterwards so ashamed, and was so confused that he had not the proper use of his judgment; and that he (Hala A'pi A'pi), knowing what must be the wounded state of his feelings, pitied his situation; and immediately sought a reconciliation. Hala A'pi A'pi indeed, in the fiery wildness of his disposition, often committed excesses; but his general character rendered him universally beloved. He was generous perhaps in the extreme; he was endowed with a certain share of wisdom: he knew well what was right, and, what is still better, he practised it. (See his character, vol. ii. p. 50.) We have given here but two glowing instances of liberal sentiment; but we must reflect that they were universally admired: accordingly, the principle on which they were admired must of course be universally felt; and it would be strange indeed, if the fruits of such sentiments were shewn only in a few solitary instances. The attentive reader will have discovered others; but if it be necessary to give another, we beg to cite one of a nature different from either of the above. The

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which his servants, without farther orders, take away to his house, and the remainder is taken away by Tooitonga's servants. It may seem strange that the latter has a smaller share than the king, but then he has not a quarter the number of dependents to divide it among.

The materials of the *Inachi* being removed, the company form a regular cava party: some cava root is brought and prepared, and a large quantity of dressed victuals, perhaps a hundred and fifty baskets-full; a small portion of which is shared out to be eaten with the cava. While the infusion is preparing, a mataboole makes a speech to the people, stating, that as they have performed this important ceremony, the gods will protect them, and grant them long lives, provided they continue to pay due attention to religious ceremonies, and to pay respect to the chiefs. When the cava is finished, the circle separates, and the provisions are shared out to each chief according to his rank. The day concludes with wrestling, boxing, &c. after which night dances commence. When these are ended, the people retire home, perfectly assured of the protection of the gods.

At this ceremony, the quantity of provisions shared out is incredible; the people, therefore, look upon it as a very heavy tribute, though in fact the owners of the plantations

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about eight small yams hanging from it at equal distances; or a couple of bunches of plantains or bananas, &c.: the sugar-canes are tied in bundles, three or four in each. These things being brought are disposed in three piles, one erected by the people of Hahagi, with their offerings, another by the people of Hihifo with theirs, and the third by those of the Moóa. The piles are placed on one side of the *malái* upright, the ends of the sticks next the ground, diverging from each other, and the upper ends meeting together; whilst others are placed across them on the top. [526] Wrestling and boxing matches now commence, which generally last about three hours, and being ended, a deputation of nine or ten men from the priest of A'lo A'lo, all dressed in mats, with green leaves round their necks, arrives with a female child, to represent the wife of A'lo A'lo, and seat themselves before the three piles, forming a single line, with a large drum (kept there for the purpose) immediately in front of them. The deputation now offer up a prayer to A'lo A'lo and the other gods, petitioning them to continue their bounty, and make the land fruitful, &c.; this being done, they give orders in regard to sharing out the provisions; one pile being appropriated to A'lo A'lo and the other gods, the other two being shared out to different principal

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chiefs, and sent home to their houses, the pile for the gods remaining still in its place. They then begin another short prayer to the same purpose, at the close of which they make a signal by beating upon the drum, when all that choose make a sudden dash at the pile appropriated to the gods, and each man secures as much as he can, to the great amusement of all the spectators, though many of the scramblers come off with wounded heads, and sometimes with fractured limbs, the broken sticks being thrown about in every direction. All the women now get out of the way, while the men stand up and commence a general pugilistic contest, one half of the island against the other half: this combat is termed *tŏë tacŏw*, and forms an essential part of this ceremony, but it is now and then practised at other ceremonies. At these general battles, the highest chiefs engage as well as the lowest *tooas*, and any one of the latter may, if he pleases, attack the king, and knock him down if he can, or even Tooitonga, without any reserve, and handle him unmercifully, without the least danger of giving offence. These combats are sometimes very obstinately kept up, and when neither party seems likely to yield the ground, after two or three hours dispute, the king orders them to desist. The most perfect good humour con-

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stantly prevails on these occasions: if a man is knocked down, he rises with a smile; if his arm is broken, he retires to get it set, without seeming to think any thing of it: on the contrary, to be angry, or to fight with the least animosity, would be considered the mark of a very weak mind. After the battle, those who have contended with superior chiefs, or think they may have touched superior chiefs, perform the ceremony of *móëmóë*, to a chief at least as high in rank as any they may have come in contact with.

Every tenth day, as before stated, these ceremonies are repeated for seven or eight successive times. The child that has been mentioned as representing the wife of Alo Alo is generally chosen from among the female chiefs of the higher ranks, and is about eight or ten years old: during the eighty days of this ceremony, she resides at the consecrated house of Alo Alo, where, the day before the first ceremony, a cava party is held, at which she presides, as well as at a feast which follows. She has nothing to do on the actual days of the ceremony, except to come with the deputation and sit down with them.

NAWGIA; or the ceremony of strangling children, as sacrifices to the gods, for the recovery of a sick relation. The blackest cloud

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" and customs of these people. It was observ- 175
" able, that though the spectators always ap- 648
" proved of the various motions when well 545
" made, a great share of the pleasure they re-
" ceived seemed to arise from the sentimental
" part, or what the performers delivered in their
" speeches *. However, the mere acting part,
" independently of the sentences repeated, was
" well worth our notice, both with respect to
" the extensive plan in which it was executed,
" and to the various motions, as well as the
" exact unity with which they were performed.
" Neither pencil nor pen can describe the nu-
" merous actions and motions, the singularity
" of which was not greater than was the ease
" and gracefulness with which they were per-
" formed.

" In expectation of this evening show, the 175
" circle of natives about our tent being pretty 648
" large, they engaged in wrestling and boxing: 526

* All the dances where the paddle is used are borrowed [535]
from the natives of the islands of Nuha (Cocos island, and [299]
Traitor's island), situated between Vavaoo and Hamoa (the [177]
Navigator's islands.) The accompanying songs are in the [533]
language of Hamoa, whence the people of Nuha have bor- [191]
rowed them, and both dances and songs have been thus
adopted at Tonga; but as very few of the Tonga people un-
derstand the Hamoa language, it is presumed that the ap-
plause of the people on the above occasion was not excited
by the sentiment, but by the music and general performance.

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" the first of which exercises they call *fanga-*
" *tooa*, and the second *foohoo*. When any of
" them chooses to wrestle, he gets up from one
" side of the ring, and crosses the ground in a
" sort of measured pace, clapping smartly on
" the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent,
" and produces a hollow sound; that is reckon-
" ed the challenge. If no person comes out
" from the opposite side to engage him, he re-
" turns in the same manner, and sits down; but
" sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the
" ground, to provoke some one to come out.
" If an opponent appear, they come together
" with marks of the greatest good nature, ge-
" nerally smiling, and taking time to adjust the
" piece of cloth which is fastened round the
" waist. They then lay hold of each other by
" this girdle, with a hand on each side, and he
" who succeeds in drawing his antagonist to
" him immediately tries to lift him upon his
" breast, and throw him upon his back, and if
" he be able to turn round with him two or
" three times in that position, before he throws
" him, his dexterity never fails of procuring
" plaudits from the spectators. If they be
" more equally matched, they close soon, and
" endeavour to throw each other by entwining
" their legs, or lifting each other from the
" ground; in which struggles they shew a pro-

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" digious exertion of strength, every muscle, as 175
" it were, being ready to burst with straining. 648
" When one is thrown, he immediately quits 526
" the field: but the victor sits down for a few
" seconds, then gets up, and goes to the side
" he came from, who proclaim the victory
" aloud, in a sentence delivered slowly, and in
" a musical cadence. After sitting a short
" space, he rises again and challenges, when
" sometimes several antagonists make their ap-
" pearance; but he has the privilege of choos-
" ing which of them he pleases, to wrestle
" with; and has likewise the preference of
" challenging again, if he should throw his ad-
" versary, until he himself be vanquished; and
" then the opposite side sing the song of victory
" in favour of their champion. It also often
" happens, that five or six rise from each side,
" and challenge together: in which case it is
" common to see three or four couple engaged
" on the field at once. But it is astonishing to
" see what temper they preserve in this exer-
" cise: for we observed no instances of their
" leaving the spot with the least displeasure in
" their countenances. When they find that
" they are so equally matched as not to be
" likely to throw each other, they leave off by
" mutual consent. And if the fall of one is
" not fair, or if it does not appear very clearly

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175 648 526 "who has had the advantage, both sides sing "the victory, and then they engage again; but "no person who has been vanquished can en- "gage with his conqueror a second time*.

"The boxers advance sideways, changing "the side at every pace, with one arm stretch- "ed fully out before, the other behind; and "holding a piece of cord in one hand, which "they wrap firmly about it when they find an "antagonist, or else have done so before they "enter. This I imagine they do to prevent a "dislocation of the hand or fingers. Their "blows are directed chiefly to the head, but "sometimes to the sides; and are dealt out "with great activity. They shift sides, and "box equally well with both hands. But one "of their favourite and most dexterous blows "is, to turn round on their heel just as they "have struck their antagonist, and to give him "another very smart one with the other hand, "backward.

"The boxing matches seldom last long; and "the parties either leave off together, or one "acknowledges his being beat. But they "never sing the song of victory in these cases, "unless one strikes his adversary to the

* Nor with any body else in *wrestling*, but he may box with any one: if he had been beaten in boxing, he could not on the same occasion box again: but he might wrestle.

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" ground, which shews that, of the two, wrest- 175
" ling is their most approved diversion *. Not 648
" only boys engage in both the exercises, but 526
" frequently little girls box very obstinately for [857]
" a short time. In all which cases it doth not
" appear that they ever consider it as the
" smallest disgrace to be vanquished; and the
" person overcome sits down with as much in-
" difference, as if he had never entered the
" lists. Some of our people ventured to con-
" tend with them in both exercises, but were
" always worsted; except in a few instances,
" where it appeared that the fear they were in
" of offending us contributed more to the vic-
" tory than the superiority of the person they
" engaged."

Such is the account we read in Cook's Voy- 114
ages; and the accuracy with which every thing is stated evinces a spirit of observation and facility of description deserving of the highest credit. The last remark which he makes in re- 175
gard to the contention between the English 526
people and the natives is a tolerably just one. 609
The natives themselves mentioned the circum- 114

* This inference is not correct: the circumstance above alluded to means merely to say, that when a man is knocked down, he may be considered as dead, for it certainly is in the power of the other to kill him if he pleases, and for this reason only he has a right to the song of victory.

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stance to Mr. Mariner, stating, that they allowed the Papalangies to get the victory sometimes, because they did not like to beat the poor fellows so much. There was probably, at the same time, a little apprehension of offending their visitors; for it is certain, that when a man is engaged singly with a chief much superior to him, he sometimes allows himself to be beaten, or rather yields out of respect to his opponent; and the sign by which he shews his disposition to do so is a sudden toss of the head on one side, upon which his antagonist immediately retires to his seat. There is something admirable in the perfect good humour and forbearance of temper which is always manifested on these occasions, sufficiently so to astonish natives of European countries: for on occasions when there is a general combat, (as related p. 207.) even Tooitonga sometimes gets miserably handled by one of the lowest fellows in the island; but nevertheless he retires from the games without the least inimical spirit, although perhaps with his eyes black, his mouth and nose dreadfully swelled, and, it may happen, with his arm broken; all done by a man over whom he has the power of life and death: for it must be observed, that when there is a general combat, no quarter is given on either side.

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stern of the canoe, and the hook just touches the surface of the water, upon which it skims along as the canoe proceeds with velocity. The hook is not barbed, and there is no bait attached to it. The moment the fish is hooked, the fisherman, by a dexterous turn of the rod, gives the line a sweep round, and the fish swings into his hand.

Toló, throwing up a heavy spear, with intent that it shall fall on, and stick into the top of a piece of soft wood fixed on the end of a post. There are generally six or eight players on each side, and whichever party in three throws sticks in most spears wins the game. The post is about five or six feet high, and the surface of the soft wood is about nine inches in diameter. The thrower may stand at what distance he pleases.

Fanífo, swimming in the surf. This bold and manly exercise has been well described by Cook, as seen by him at the Sandwich islands; but the natives of Tonga use no board.

Fungatoóa, wrestling; *Fetágі*, club-fighting; *Foóhoo*, boxing; *Toitaców*, a general boxing-match, have been already described. *Láffo*, or pitching beans upon a mat, with endeavours to strike off others that have been pitched there before.

Tow pápá, or throwing false spears at one another, to practise the eye in avoiding them.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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526 They have a sport the name of which is forgotten; but it consists in carrying a large stone under water ten feet deep, from one post to another, at the distance of seventy yards, the party who carries the stone running along the bottom: the difficulty is to pursue a straight course: a person may thus run much faster than another can swim.

[565] *Matooa:* this game is somewhat similar to *liagi*, but there is no discussion about the moves: it is usually practised by the lower orders.

Hico, throwing up balls, five in number, discharging them from the left hand, catching them in the right, and transferring them to the left again, and so on in constant succession, keeping always four balls in the air at once. [562] This is usually practised by women: they recite verses at the same time, each jaculation from the right to the left hand being coincident with the cadence of the verse: for every verse that she finishes without missing she counts one: sometimes seven or eight play alternately.

[562] *Hábo:* this is a game similar to cup and ball, and is also practised by women only.

[518] [524] The natives very often amuse themselves with these games: when any dispute arises in their play, the women decide it by spinning a cocoa-nut, and the men by a wrestling-match: as to a serious quarrel from this source, Mr.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Mariner never witnessed one during the whole time he was there. Conversation with people who have travelled is another great source of amusement to them: they are very fond of tales and anecdotes, and there are many individuals who are tolerably skilful in inventing these things, which are then mostly of a burlesque or humourous tendency, but always given as fables. The kind of conversation, which appears to afford them most pleasure is, concerning the manners and customs of the people of Papalangi, as being not only strange and wonderful, but also true! They employ themselves in conversation, not only at any time during the day, but also at night: if one wakes, and is not disposed to go to sleep again, he wakens his neighbour to have some talk *: by and by, perhaps, they are all roused, and join in the conversation: it sometimes happens that the chief has ordered his cooks, in the evening, to bake a pig, or some fish, and bring it in hot in the middle of the night, with some yams: in this case the torches are again lighted, and they all get up to eat their share; after which they retire to their mats; the torches are put out; some go to sleep, and others, perhaps, talk till day-light. The first appearance of day is the

* Sometimes two or three, at other times thirty or forty, may be sleeping in the same house.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

get their boat ready for sea, and then to sleep together, so that when he called them very early in the morning they might launch the boat quickly to follow the tropic bird to sea, and seek food at the island of Ata. Thus was Ata discovered. Not only did Hama tell the men of the existence of Ata, to which a boat had never been previously, but also what headlands they should find, and that there was a rock, named Maka-ooa, standing by itself. When the canoe returned the crew reported that Hama was correct in what he had said.

Another exploit of Hama was the reporting of a club fight that took place in Tongatabu while he remained quietly at home in Eua. A noted fighter, Hifo of Eua, lived in close attendance on the Tui Tonga. He was fed from the Tui Tonga's food, because of his skill as an athlete. The great festival of the Inasi, presentation of first-fruits, was marked by various amusements and sports, including the ***kotone,*** which seems to have embraced wrestling, club-fighting, and boxing. On one occasion, during the Inasi, Hifo was matched with a champion from Vavau in fighting with clubs of stems of the coconut leaf. The festival was in Tongatabu, but Hama in Eua described the progress of the fight to the Eua people. He told them of the overthrow and death of their champion Hifo, and warned them to prepare for his funeral. When a canoe arrived with news of the festival Hama's description was confirmed.

Another exploit concerns a pet tropic bird of the Tui Haatakalaua. This great chief, who lived in Fonua Motu, a part of the village of Mua, had a favorite tropic bird, round whose leg was tied a ribbon of bark, dyed red, so that the bird should be known, and not harmed by anyone who might chance to see it. Every morning the bird flew off to seek food, returning in the evening to its master. This went on for a long time, until one evening the bird did not return. The Tui Haatakalaua was grieved at the loss of his pet, and could think of no means whereby he might recover it. But remembering the repute of Hama, he sent a canoe, and had the clairvoyant brought to him. When the Tui Haatakalaua had told Hama his trouble he replied, "The thing thou speakest of is well; straightway shall I tell thee of it. Thy bird is not yet dead, but is still alive. It is flying about for food; it is seeking food in a distant place." The chief asked where was this distant place, and whether the bird would return. Hama replied that it was in Samoa, and that it would come back again. Then the chief bade Hama tell definitely the day of its return, and Hama answered that the bird was then in Faumea, and that it would begin its homeward flight from there. He told the successive stages of its return from Tafahi to Fatukalapu, and then to Aka and on to Fonualei and Toku, to Falcovalu, and on to the two Hungas, and so to Hakau Tapu (Sacred Reef). On the day when Hama reported that the bird had reached Hakau

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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2. Api faa toe tuu ai ae teve: In the well-stocked farm still stands the *teve*. 539 262

The *teve* (Amorphophallus) grows wild in the bush. Its root has an acrid taste, but is nevertheless sometimes eaten in periods of scarcity. The true farmer, however well stocked he is with other food plants, will not neglect this unpalatable shrub which will be a stand-by in case of the failure of his other crops.

3. Fakamotua ke tao ha tua: Playing the old man to bake a *tua* (a fine kind of yam).

The *tua*, in addition to being a specially good sort of yam, is also one of the hardest varieties to cultivate, and the man who can grow them well is obviously a real farmer. This phrase is a rebuke for a lazy man. Do you expect that sitting down with folded hands like a decrepit ancient is the way to get these fine yams to bake and eat? [244] [626]

4. Halahala a maala keli: Misses of well cultivated garden, that is, a yam garden in which the soil is loosened to a good depth and where fine large pieces of seed yam are used. 539 244

In such a plantation there may be some holes which miss, but those which do grow well will have such large roots as to compensate for the failures. Applied especially in such sports as boxing, fishing and the like, to one who may fail often to get his blow home, or to catch any fish, but when he does succeed scores so heavily as to redeem his previous failures. [526] [226]

5. Holi ke utuutu i he maala utu: To desire to glean in a plantation that is being harvested.

Utuutu is to look for yams in the bush growing wild on the sites of disused gardens. What one finds in this way he is welcome to, but such gleaning must not trespass on gardens which are still being used by their owners. [423]

6. Huo hoko hoka huo: Digging together, spades clashing. 539 578

If two men are working close together and one strikes his spade against his companion's the accident is likely to prove annoying and lead to a quarrel. The expression, therefore, is an injunction to keep strictly to the line of one's own job without irritating interference with neighboring laborers. 461

7. Kaka tuu ofi: Barren soil near at hand.

An inferior piece of ground conveniently close is more likely to be cultivated than better soil at a distance. The thing of fair quality that is near is better than a superior thing at a distance. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. 539 241

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 516 526 423 571 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.

This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 352 484 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.

The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 829 571 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's home.

This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 312 [177] [178] [821] **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern which is filled only by the rain.

The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified, of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 261 515 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside cook-house.

One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 372 261 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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592. Koe fakanavau ke ha? To mark for what? 539

The *navau* is a distinguishing mark fixed to the body of an animal, particularly the mark tied to the leg of the tame decoy pigeon. This is used of marking what is obvious; what is the use of marking what is plain to everyone? It is also used as a very open-hearted and genial response to one who comes to make a request. What are you asking for? Anything that I have and you want, just take and welcome. 223 422 431 571

593. Kuku kaunaka: Grasp handle. 539

A phrase of the pigeon snaring, being an injunction to the men who handled nets to hold the handles firmly lest the birds escape. Like *"Puke-puke a fufula,"* "Seize the big pig," it is an exhortation to devote one's attention and energy to the task in hand. 223 183

594. Mounu vaoa: Decoy pigeon taken to the woods.

Applied to one who has relapsed into bad old habits, like the decoy bird who after all his taming and training has gone wild again.

BOXING, WRESTLING, CUDGEL PLAY

[These sports often formed part of important ceremonies and celebrations.] 526

595. Ta ji ta lahi ta atu pea ke tangi: Little one hits, big one hits, go on hitting, and you will cry. 539 526 571 578 829

The little one can cause very little pain to the big chap by his blows, but the big fellow can make himself felt by the little one. So if it comes to an exchange of blows between the big chap and the little chap it will end in tears for the little one.

This is a word of wisdom, advising the little fellow to be modestly cautious about whom he undertakes to fight.

596. Va feinofi: Striking distance. 539 526

Primarily a boxing phrase, particularly of the sport called *tautakao* in which a number of combatants participated, men choosing their opponents more or less at random. *Feinofi* means shaping at each other, challenging each other, and *va feinofi* is used of two men who are close enough to each other to spar. Thence simply "close."

597. Fetaaki a feiloaki: Cudgel play of men used to each other.

This indicates that each man gives a fine exhibition, as, being accustomed to the other's strokes and style, his own game has the precision that such experience always gives. The point that is emphasized is that both men fight like experts. (See Nos. 468 and 469.)

598. Ojioji palalafa: Coconut-leaf stem finished.

The coconut-leaf stem was used in practising for the club or single-sticks matches *(fetaaki)*. To finish the coconut-leaf stem, or to do one's

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 526 utmost with the coconut-leaf stem, means to put one's whole strength and energy into this practice. The expression seems to be used particularly of team work, to do one's best for his team. These old contests were between teams though the combats were between individuals from either side.

539 526 183 152 **599. Teu toka ka koe tue:** I shall lie down, but the shouting.

This is an expression from the ring. The lying down indicated is the being thrown down in wrestling. To be overcome and even to sustain severe injury is a thing that can be easily endured, but the shouting of the onlookers is quite another thing. Therein lies the unendurable shame of defeat. Baker renders the phrase, "To yield to fate but to fear derision."

539 526 **600. Toka a puka:** Lying of pig.

An expression from wrestling, indicating that both wrestlers have fallen and that it is difficult to see who is getting the upper hand. The confused forms of the combatants would seem to be likened to a pig rolling on the ground. Used generally of an evenly contested match of any kind when it is hard to say who is the stronger.

601. Toka ki malae: Lying on (the) green, that is, on the green where such sports as boxing and wrestling are held.

This indicates one who has been defeated in a wrestling match, and has measured his length on the grass. In spite of his defeat there is to his credit that he had the courage to enter the contest and try.

602. Mafi to ki haa tuele: The explanation of this is forgotten by the present generation of Tongans, but the meaning given by Baker is: "To challenge when and where there is no prospect of an antagonist."

[57] A literal translation of the first part seems to be: "Victory falling to *haa tuele*, but the difficulty is to place the *haa tuele*. *Haa* is the ordinary word for a tribe, clan, but it is used very widely of almost any group of people associated together according to different principles, such as similarity of occupation. *Tuele* may be the proper name of some tribe, or clan, perhaps Samoan, but a not improbable conjecture is that it is the Samoan word *tuele*, meaning to stand on the ground, and that the phrase indicates that victory is going to those who merely stand on the ground and have no opponents to contend with. This is consonant with the interpretation given by Baker. It seems to be a phrase belonging to sports such as boxing, wrestling, single-sticks.

VELO FA AND JIKA

526 [*Velo fa* is the sport of throwing a dart at a mark: *jika* is distance throwing with light darts.]

539 526 **603. Tali fa:** Receiving pandanus.

Although this translation is a literal rendering of the words it does not properly express the sense, which is rather that of making right with

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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the pandanus. This is from the sport of *velo fa*, shooting at a mark consising of a piece of the trunk of the pandanus tree set up on end, the aim being to make the dart stand in the top of the pandanus stake. Sometimes a bunch of the fruit of the pandanus was hung up as the mark. In this sport the Tui Tonga, if he took part, threw last, and a man was stationed near the mark to catch the dart of this august chief and stick it into the mark. This man, and his duty, were both called *tali fa*. The expression is used of favoritism,—of securing success by extraneous assistance rather than one's own excellence.

604. Holi fa: Striving for pandanus.

This is from the game of *velo fa*. (See No. 603.) The phrase indicates a dart that has almost, but not quite, succeeded in sticking in the mark. It is used generally of a failure that is very near to success.

605. Jii kae amo: Short yet winning.

This is a word from the sport of *jika*, dart-throwing. In the long distance throwing contest the dart of the biggest chief taking part was frequently turned over length-wise if it were almost, but not quite, the best throw. This was adding a handicap of a dart's length to the chief's cast. The limit of this assistance to the chief was apparently three turns, three dart lengths. If with this handicap the chief was ahead he was reckoned the winner.

The expression is used proverbially of an undertaking which has succeeded, not by the unaided merit of its performance, but through extraneous help.

606. Hange ha kaho halia: Like a glancing reed.

This is from the sport of *jika*, in which the dart was thrown so as to glance on a piece of level ground, or sometimes on a small mound, and ricochet on to a further distance. He who threw furthest won. The reed is the dart. A well thrown dart went on with fresh energy after glancing, and so the expression is applied to a fleet-footed runner, and generally to a willing and energetic performer in any sport or labor.

FANIFO

[The fine sport of *fanifo*, surf-riding in which the skill of the Tongans, as of other Polynesian peoples, evoked the wondering admiration of early travellers, seems now to be rarely, if ever, practised in Tonga.]

607. Auhia a motua fanifo: Man carried away by the current (or waves) who is skillful in the sport of shooting the breakers.

For an unskilled person to be carried out is a matter of grave concern, but for the man thoroughly at home amongst the waves no anxiety need be felt. So of the affairs of life generally, we may see a man involved in difficulties, but knowing, and having confidence in his energy and ability, we have no misgiving but that he will successfully win through.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 526 183 **608. Fanifo kave papa:** Surf-riding, borne by board.

The man who is not very skillful at the sport depends entirely on his board to get safely over the breakers, whereas to the real expert the board is a matter of indifference. Applied to the man who gets safely over his difficulties rather through assistance afforded him than by his own intrinsic merits.

609. Holo pe tuu he koe ngalu e faji: Keep places, for the wave will break.

An expression taken from the sport of riding the breakers *(fanifo)*. It may happen that the swimmers have to wait a considerable time for a suitable breaker, and that some of them will become impatient and begin to swim about or to divert themselves in some other way rather than watch attentively for a good wave: but the advice of the expert is to keep continually ready for the wave when it comes; only thus can one be sure of utilising opportunity when it does present itself. It is an exhortation to watchful patience.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 224 283 **610. Fai mai e hele pulu ki he hele kalava:** Snare of coconut husk brought to snare of fibre of the coconut leaf stem.

Of these two snares that made of the fibres taken from the stem of the leaf is tougher and stronger than that made of fibres from the husk of the ripe fruit. If these two sorts of cord were knotted together and a strain put on at the ends the weaker would break.

[571] Applied to a man trying to get the better of one who is stronger or cleverer than himself.

539 526 **611. Hange ha hapohapo tangamimi:** Like catching a bladder.

The pig's bladder is frequently taken and blown up, thrown about and caught by children at play, but on account of its lightness it is apt to bounce from the hands and is hard to catch. Used of boats tossed about by the waves, and generally of that which is elusive and difficult to get a firm hold of.

539 524 **612. Hange ha moli touhuhu:** Like a stabbed shaddock.

Originates in a boys' game called *touhuhu*, stabbing. A shaddock was suspended by a cord at a convenient height above the ground and the players stood round armed with small sharp sticks. The shaddock was sent swinging round and the boys made jabs at it with their sticks. A point was scored whenever the shaddock was impaled on the sticks, each player counting his own points. The score ran from six to ten, that is, the player won who first pierced the fruit five times. The shaddock by this treatment [701] was soon battered and war-worn. The phrase is applied especially to a much wounded warrior, and generally in the same way as we speak of a person or thing that is much scarred, war-worn.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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613. Luki aka fai ki Fiji: Challenging Fiji to a kicking match. 539 829 648

Used of an immoderate boast or challenge. Fiji is a country far from Tonga, and its inhabitants are numerous. To challenge Fiji, therefore, is doubly an immoderate boast. To reach the scene of action is no mean task, and when the initial difficulty of navigation is overcome one's hands will be more than full with so many antagonists.

614. Matakai ngalo oua e kau ai: Don't count a forgotten *matakai*. 539 524

This refers primarily to the game of *fiji*, or flipping, which consists in flipping one by one a bundle of small light sticks from the bottom of an inverted basket, or some such stand, across which they are laid. The *matakai* in this instance are the sticks. When a player has successfully flipped all the sticks (not so easy by the way as it looks) he says, "no forgotten sticks are to count," thus saving himself from all penalty should any be found to have dropped down and been overlooked. The expression comes to be a sort of general forestalling of the effects of any sins of omission

615. Tua ka matakai pipiki: A chap to stick to the matakai.

The *matakai* is the object with which the game of *liaki*, and other games, were played. This phrase refers to the game of *liaki*, in which one player held a small object such as an orange seed between two fingers, clenching the fist. The man who held the *matakai* put his clenched fists out in front of him while his opponent, without touching him, tried to make him laugh or squirm and drop the *matakai*. A man who was invulnerable to all the attacks made on his nerves or risibility was able to keep his fists tight shut and hold the *matakai*. Applied to one who is adept at sticking to things, who keeps a firm hold on his property, and also applied to one who keeps his own counsel. [157]

DANCING

616. Haka i langi tau: Dancing to suitable music. 539 535 533

Where the music is good and rhythmic the dancing will be easy and attractive, a fit vehicle of rejoicing and calculated to cause pleasure to the beholders. Strictly the word *langi* seems to denote rather the line or group of singers than the music itself. This phrase, written as one word, is freely used in the sense of joy, rejoicing.

617. Malanga i faiva: Getting up during dance. 539 535 183 [524] [526] [537]

The word *faiva* is not confined to dances but is applied also to games and sports and generally to any employment requiring skill. The idea of this phrase is that of a man who should go, say, to a dance, not as a performer but simply as a spectator; but who during the dance is moved to get up and join in, though he has not practised for the occasion. He stands there in all his unpractised awkwardness among those who have perfected themselves in the movements. A useful warning for extemporaneous speakers.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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round the districts, in a time of scarcity, and order the people to dress a certain quantity of provisions for him by a limited time; with which he lays up a store for himself, and his wives and household; and leaves others to get what they can.

They often drink the Kava from break of day to eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, till their attendants are completely tired of waiting on them. They then go and lie down, and sleep for two or three hours; when they rise, they bathe, walk among the plantations, or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, or any other way that pleases their fancy; but particularly in bathing, playing in the water, and shooting of arrows. Bathing is a very favourite amusement, in which they generally indulge two or three times a day. Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion: they fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways, with all the eagerness that contending parties, in the northern counties of England, exert themselves to drive the shinney to its goal. When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly

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dived down to take his place. I have seen one person carry a stone of considerable weight ten or twelve yards in this game, through the buoyant aid of the water.

But they take particular delight in another amusement in the water, called Furneefoo. They go down to the flat shore, at high water, when the swell rolls with great force to the land, and plunge in and swim some yards into the sea, then pushing themselves on the top of the swell, they ride in, close to the shore. It is astonishing to see with what dexterity they will steer themselves on the wave, one hand being stretched out, as the prow before, and the other guiding them like a rudder behind: and though they are riding in upon the swelling billow, with a frightful rapidity, that makes you apprehend they will be dashed and killed upon the shore, they will, with surprising agility, turn themselves suddenly, on one side, and darting back through the next wave, swim out to sea, till another swell waft them on towards shore; when, if inclined to land, they will again turn themselves on one side, and, awaiting the wave's return, dart through the refluent surge, and reach the shore in safety. Several hours are often spent at one time, in this sport, in which the women are as skilful as the men. I never attempted this diversion myself, as the trial might have been fatal.

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But in another amusement, in which the chiefs

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Vavau
Pangai

585 The marriage is usually consummated on the night of this same day. Relatives of bride and groom meet together (602) at the groom's house. They eat, drink *kava* and sing songs (574) for part of the night. In another room of the house or in the same room but in a section of the house screened off by bark cloth partitions, the marriage is consummated. In the morning care is taken to inspect the bedding or clothing of the bride. If she is proved to have been a virgin, the groom's (574) father immediately prepares a further large feast which he presents to the bride's mother as a symbol of gratitude for her successful efforts in preserving the chastity of his son's bride.

585 Bride and groom are now considered safely and successfully married. According to village pattern, they 833 have intercourse at least twice each night. The customary position is the prone position with the man above. Less frequent intercourse is excused, just a shade shamefully, on the grounds that the bones of the wife are too small and (841) weak. There are no *tapu* against intercourse during the menstrual period.

585 The aftermath of all this feasting and gift giving may often weigh heavily on the families of the bride and groom. 526 They must see to it that relatives who have contributed pigs, mats, and food are repaid in kind. If the marriage has not been prepared for many months in advance, then repayment may have to be made over many successive months after the marriage. Insofar as every effort is made to establish the (554) status of the groom's family in terms of the quantities of food and gifts displayed and consumed, the obligations incurred may often assume for the groom's household a crippling burden of responsibility that necessitates great labour and planning before all the obligations are finally cleared away.

585 So far the description has been in terms of formal pattern. The following example of an actual marriage may 178 now be presented to show both additions and limitations on the pattern:

584 One day Paula, aged nineteen, came to tell his older brother Tui that he wished to marry the girl Meletautuli of 593 the nearby village of Toula. Tui is considered much more mature and sensible than the still older brother Kali. Hence

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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their offices on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, but they were free on all other days in the week. This arrangement had its inconveniences, but so long as it afforded a reason for not increasing the salaries, it could not be altered. Tukuaho did his best to attend every day; but funeral feasts or the requirements of religion (he was a local preacher) often interfered to keep him from the office, and I had to content myself with the reflection that he was advancing our interests by the not less effective means of making friends with the mammon of unrighteousness. But the others did not even keep the short hours required of them. Not many days after our first Cabinet Council there was a fresh alarm that the Treasury was closed again on a Friday. A policeman was despatched in hot haste to fetch the Treasury officials, and in ten minutes a melancholy procession filed into the office, headed by Goschen. "This is Friday," I began, "and the Treasury is closed again at three o'clock. How is our work to go on under such conditions?" The aged Minister and his satellites crouched cross-legged before me like a lot of naughty schoolboys. "We were in church," said Goschen, solemnly. This spiked my gun, and I handed them over to Tukuaho, who knew more of their spiritual requirements than I.

The Tongans are a race of athletes. In foot-races and feats of strength, notably the tug-of-war, they have generally worsted the blue-jackets whom they have challenged, but their real passion is cricket. Soon after its introduction the game became a national danger. The plantations were neglected; the cocoa-nuts lay rotting on the ground: for the whole population played cricket from

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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dawn till dusk all over the island, with a bat if they could get it, but otherwise with a cocoa-nut branch and an unripe orange. They played matches, one village against another, and all the men of each village took an innings. With perhaps seventy-three on one side and fifty-two on the other a match lasted for days; and party feeling sometimes ran so high that at the end the losers fell upon the victors with the bats and stumps to avenge their disgrace. This was all changed when cricket was regulated by law, and confined to Tuesdays and Thursdays only; besides, the heat of the cricket-passion has had time to cool. But I record the matter if only to serve the speakers at cricket-dinners with a useful illustration.

The two principal papers in Auckland were bespattering us with satirical abuse. This was not unexpected, for we had been warned that Mr Baker was a shareholder in one of them. It is good for a Government to be reviled by the press—it produces a healthy glow of reaction, like a shower-bath on a cold morning; but we owed money in Auckland, and were dependent upon our credit for our supplies. I had a weapon to brandish over the head of one of these organs: the Government printing was done in its office, but I could scarcely insist on its closing its columns to hostile criticisms without providing it with a correspondent free from prejudice. I knew of no one in Tonga at the time who could be trusted to write without bias against the new Administration except myself. I therefore had a message conveyed to the proprietors of the 'Herald' that we could not continue to give our printing to a hostile journal, and that if they wanted our custom they must amend their tone. If their "own correspon-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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000 gotten, the primitive method of raising weights is likely to prevail in that district. I asked the old men what they did with heavier weights still, and they immediately answered, "We make the platform of earth, and dig it away to make the log tip up." No doubt, when the log or stone is on end, they dig away the platform, throwing the earth into its old position, so that no trace remains. Having seen the whole process, I shall continue to believe that Stonehenge was built like this, until some one offers a better explanation.

349 [773] [823] *There is a legend that* the Haamonga stones were brought by the god Maui in a gigantic canoe from Uea (Wallace Island), and that you may see there great holes in the rock whence they were quarried. A European even assured me that the stone is of a kind not found [135] in Tonga at all. This part of the story at least is not true, for the stone is mere coral, hardened by exposure, of exactly the same quality as the reef close by.

136 In discussing the peculiarities of man I have altogether neglected the lower animals in Tonga. The only indigenous mammals were a small field-rat, a fruit-eating bat or flying fox, and a small cave-bat. The rat, having no [226] [526] enemies but man, swarmed throughout the islands: so numerous were they that it was a chiefiike sport to shoot them in the paths with a bow and arrow. They have almost vanished now before the cats, dogs, and their voracious Norway cousin, and rat-shooting is now as extinct as bear-baiting in England.

[231] [177] The first foreign arrival was of course the pig. It is a popular fallacy that Captain Cook, among his other benefi-

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken that it became necessary some decades ago to pass laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.

The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable. Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat.

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians because they have no water closets, which in Tonga are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9.

from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat.

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity and the missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather slowly and to too limited an extent.

Tonga's Future

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope, not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agricultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform. The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate further educational reform.

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated. The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and seamanship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

were comparatively harmless, but others were obscene and demoralizing in the highest degree. Boxing, club-fighting, and wrestling, were highly popular. The proceedings were regulated by certain laws, for the proper observance of which managers were appointed, and umpires to decide upon rival claims. These matches were often attended with serious, and even fatal results. The spectators delighted in blows that brought blood; and stimulated the combatants with shouts and yells of applause.

The ceremonies observed on the death of any prominent personage, were extremely barbarous. The hair was shaved, or cut close, and the face and various parts of the body cut, bruised, or burned. Affection or respect for the deceased was estimated by the amount of bodily pain endured. Chiefs were usually interred in tombs, constructed of blocks of sandstone, cut from suitable localities by the seashore, where, at a little depth from the surface, layers of hard and durable sandstone are found, even on many of the coralline islands. In several of the ancient burial-places, similar stones, arranged in terraces, surround the whole enclosure. Some of these are of immense size, and seem to indicate the possession, on the part of former inhabitants, either of greater energy than the present race, or of better tools and appliances. The burial places of the Tonguese are always surrounded by the most imposing foliage of the tropics, and placed in sequestered spots. A mound of earth is raised, of dimensions varying with the necessities of the place; and, whenever a grave is opened within the limits of this mound, it is always filled up with beautiful white sand, and never contains more than

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 [526] →

Kabukabu, fog.

Kafa-fonu, turtle fishing (v. also *Bo-fonu*, *Kubega-fonu*, *Tulifonu*, *Fakaalele*).

Kafa-kula, necklace.

Kafogalu, meaning uncertain.

Kahana, pipe, or other contrivance, inserted into rock or tree to drain water along it (?)

Kahi, piles. *Kahi-mata-na-loma*, internal piles (apparently Fijian loan expression).

Kaho, place where the sea becomes suddenly deeper.

Kaka'i, use treacherously; applied to ravishing of women.

Kakao, hand, arm (disrespectful).

Kakalo, hidden, hard to see.

Kakamolu, smouldering, burning slowly.

Kakei, deprecating term for *taovala* (the cincture worn as mark of respect).

Kako, bend, plait together, especially flowers without stringing on anything. Cf. *Tui-kako*.

Kalakala, hard to kill.

Kalakia, meaning uncertain; cf. Maori, Mangaian, *Karakia*, prayer, charm, invocation.

Kale'aga, finish, cease. (v. also Baker s.v.) Applied especially to end of albicore-fishing.

Kaleua, do it yourself, let him do it himself, do what you like; *Ke ke kaleua*, Do what you like. Cf. *Kaleui* (Baker and *Dictionnaire Toga-Francais*), Sam. *Aleu*, Haw. *Kalewa*, Maori, *Karewa*, Fij. *Rewa*.

Kaleua, forked stick for twisting bread-fruit from tree. (Also called *Lohu.*)

Kali-loa, long pillow *(kali)* used in men's community house.

Kaloko, large coil of cinnet.

Kama, strive after, reach out toward.

Kami, represent, act as agent for another. *Kakami* is also found, but is of uncertain meaning.

Kamo-tu'u, game in which one player stands with back to others who touch her from behind. As soon as touched player succeeds in detecting one of the others touching her, her place is taken by the one she has detected.

Kani, } (i) injured, wounded
Kanikania, } (applied to Tu'i Tonga and great chiefs); (ii) an interjection like *Fakabo*, murder, hang it; (iii) in *lafo* the player sometimes exclaims *kani*, *kania* (apparently equivalent to *kai*, score) to his piece as he throws it.

Kano-iahu, very mischievous, tiresome.

Kanokanona, a division of Tongan singing, contralto.

Kanume, a tree with small edible fruit (Sam. *Anume*, *maba eliptica*, Pratt).

Kata-'i'i, silent laughter.

Katafa, name of a bird, perhaps the *lofa*, tern.

Kata fakamoala, loud laughter (perhaps some connection with Island of Moala in Fiji).

Kata-kakae, derisive laughter.

Kava-bui, ginger plant.

Kavakava, midrib of cocoanut leaflet used in *tapa*-printing frame.

Kavakava, } go, especially
Faka-kavakava, } through shallow water. Cf. *Hala-kavakava* bridge.

Kaveiga, star, or constellation, used in steering.

Kave-kalaga, keep on shouting.

Kavele'i-bulu, fibre of cocoanut husk.

Kavevale, wrongly spoken about.

Ke'aga, cause of quarrel.

Kia'i-fonu, lit. turtle-neck, very short neck.

Kiato, outrigger of canoe to which float, or second canoe, is attached.

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 *Tetou, tatou*, our, ours (inclusive) (Niua Fo'ou).

To'okolua, your (dual) (Niua Fo'ou).

193 *Tena, ta'anaua, to'onaua*, 3rd pers. dual possessive (Niua Fo'ou).

193 *Tenotou, tonatou, tanotou*, 3rd pers. plur. possessive (Niua Fo'ou).

Te'ebeka, sediment at bottom of oil.

Te'ehalakamu, variable wind.

193 *Te'ekafa*, scraps left over after cinnet-making.

Teeki, break wind. (Rather vulgar term, *agavale* is less crude.)

Te'elama, dark liquid ejected by squid.

526 *Te'ia*, strike, punish, striking, struck.

Tei'abaa, lean lightly against.

193 *Tei'e*, word indicating 3rd pers. sing. fut. (Obsolete, *te ne* now in universal use.)

Tefito, in a text the expression occurs *Ta tefito mei ama;* the exact meaning of *tefito* is not clear —it may be simply the well known word meaning root—in any case the order was followed by the preparation of a human victim for food.

Tegihaga, weep.

Tego, bruise, lacerate.

Tegu, short rest, nap.

Tele, charge enemy from rear; do or die.

Tele'a, valley.

Telekekina, go alongside of. (Cf. *Telekaki*, Baker.)

Teletelekaga, outrigger pole.

Televave, growing (of grass).

Tetula, ten pairs of reeds with thatch woven on. *Uogatula. Tolugatula*, etc., twenty, thirty, etc., pairs of thatch.

Tinatila, name of a plant, described as a species of passion-fruit, probably foreign thing and name.

Toafa, shallow flat along coast.

Toekai, largest piece in *lafo* set.

To 'i matau, drop to leeward.

To'oa, (i) gone; (ii) acting carelessly, proudly, badly.

Toogabo, presents made to a girl in courtship.

To'ona, cooked.

To'o-tagata, proud, conceited.

To'oto'oga, viscera, including lungs, heart, liver, kidneys.

Tou, manage, make; pluck, break off.

To'u, a prefix indicating collectively those of the same class; *To'u mau*, bards, *to'utagata, to'ufefine*, men, women, of same generation, *to'u-kai*, crop, season of fruit.

Tou'itala, a boys' game in which the winner was the one who ventured farthest along the branch of a tree; competition of bards.

Toufufu, ridge-pole of house.

Toukubu, limbs (of royal persons). *Toukubu'i va'e, toukubu'i kelekele*, foot, leg; *toukubu, toukubu'i nima*, hand, arm.

Toulekeleka, old (high chiefs).

To-uta, come to, deal with, land matters.

Toutau, place where waves come in from different directions.

Toutounoa, Fakatoutounoa, bereft, bewildered, deserted.

Toutua, outside the reef, open sea.

Touvai, to dip water into a large receptacle with a small vessel.

Tofaga, know.

Tofalea, with houses on it (?).

Tofa moe alo, good-night salutation to the Tu'i Tonga.

Tofikulu, knock-out blow.

Togione, to dress the hair with lime.

Togibo, to marry deceased wife's sister, or deceased husband's brother.

Togi-tafi, the shot in *lafo* which sweeps *(tafi)* opponent's piece from the mat.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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While life goes on otherwise uninterrupted, the quiet of a Tongan village often witnesses an exciting game of volleyball (*above:* Neiafu, Vava'u), or behind the scenes, a game of pool (*opposite:* 'Ohonua, 'Eua)—both of which are favorite pastimes in Tonga.

Ko e taha eni e ongo faiva sipoti manakoe 'i Tonga, 'a e voli polo 'o hange ko ia 'i he ta 'i 'olunga (Neiafu), pea mo e hoka 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i he tafa'aki 'e taha ('Ohonua, 'Eua).

of an 'api is further enlivened by the children and young people, who spend much of the time outside during the day. 351

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village. In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and village sounds are muted. 512 [287] [526] [533] [794] [574]

The boundaries of a number of 'api are marked by a fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses along the main road have a preferred position, providing ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses further back are reached by narrow trails along which one must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths that soon become muddy bogs when it rains. 351 417 351 361 [554] [487]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

562 517 883 526 571 562 885 582 794 276 574 794 562 574 276 794 562 496 do not necessarily associate with members of their own denomination; instead, they spend most of their leisure time in the company of others of their age. During the winter football season they are fully engaged in the activities of the village football club, and in the summer they serve as cheering sections to the girls' basketball teams. They also do a lot of *'eva pē* ('just going around') away from their home village, seeking scope for their courting activities.

Ordinarily, however, by his late twenties a young man has married and begun to settle down. From then on, the time that he spends outside his own household but away from income-producing activities is almost entirely spent in the company of other adult males of his congregation, often at a kava-drinking circle that meets at the home of one of the group.[7] This is especially true of members of Motulahi's Free Wesleyan congregation, which is a large enough congregation to sustain a kava group that meets almost daily at the home of the man who serves as steward of the congregation. A man also prefers to cooperate in economic activities beyond his own household with members of his own congregation (possibly because this provides a sanction for their acting in good faith). For example, I

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7 Beaglehole gives an excellent account of kava activities in village life (1941: 112-123).

575 association. In most cases, the interest is of a financial
575 or material nature, but this is not always the case. For
526 example, there can be little in the way of a material motive for participating in the village rugby-football association. This kautaha involves many of the young men of the village, irrespective of denominational affiliation; and, while the manifest purpose of the association is to train teams that will 'represent' Motulahi in inter-village competition, the association provides a fellowship group for the young men of the village. While they are 'in training' in the football season they cooperate in providing themselves with a common breakfast and a common evening meal and many of the members sleep together in a 'dormitory' set up in one of the sheds in the village. Similarly, fellowship is the primary motive underlying kava clubs (kalapu). These clubs consist of a number of men who meet together frequently, sometimes daily, at the home of the leader of the group. Members contribute to a kitty to provide kava and food and also presents for the young women who make the kava.

575 4. These associations usually do not continue for a long time. Both the Kautaha Fisi and the kautaha lī pa'anga that I knew in Motulahi disbanded during the period of my fieldwork; each had lasted for less than two years. The kau ngāue was beginning to break up at the time that I left

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

the field, after having been in existence for about seven months, as there was no longer enough regular work for everyone. Village football associations disband at the end of each rugby-football season. The same is true of the three neighborhood basketball associations in Motulahi. These re-form from year to year, with some members joining a different club the following season. Most kava-drinking clubs have an even briefer span of existence; few last more than two or three months.[14]

In summary, local voluntary associations are relatively short-lived groups that come into existence for the pursuit of limited goals that are in the personal interest of members of the association. In contrast to these groups, other voluntary associations in Tonga that do not have these features, such as the Tongan Red Cross and the Tongan Family Planning Association--both of which are conspicuously lacking in well-defined goals--have had little impact outside Nuku'alofa and receive most of their support from the expatriate European community.[15] Even

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14 In this respect, the long-standing informal association of men who gather almost daily at the home of the steward of the Free Wesleyan congregation, constitutes an exception that proves the rule. This group, while it is not formally constituted by the Free Wesleyan Church, would not be called a kautaha. It is similar to a kava club in some ways, but is significantly different in that it is an unofficial adjunct of the congregation.

15 This statement about these associations, while it is true as of the time of my fieldwork, may no longer be true.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Sugar Cane which were laid in two heaps or piles on our left, being the side they came from. Soon after came a number of others from the right, laden with the same kind of articles which were laid in two piles on our right; to these were tied two Pigs and six Fowls, and to those on the left six Pigs and two turtle. Earoupa sat before the several arti[c]les on the left and a nother Chief before those on the right they being, as I judged, the two Chiefs who had collected them and being a kind of Tax Feenough had laid upon them for the present occasion. As soon as every thing was laid in order and to shew to the most advantage, those who had brought in the things joined the Multitude who formed a large circle round the whole. Presently after a number of men entered the Circle or Area before us, armed with Clubs made of the green branches of the Cocoanut tree, these paraded about for a few minutes and then retired the one half to one side and the other half to the other, and seated themselves before the spectators: but soon after went to single Combat, one or two steping forward from the one side and challenging those on the other which was done more by actions than words; if the Challenge was excepted, which was generally the case, each put himself in a proper atitude and began to engage and continued till one or the other gave out or their weapons were broke. When the contest was over, the Victor squated himself down facing the cheif then rose up and retired, at the same time some old men, who seemed to sit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words and the multitude, especially those on the side to which the yictor belonged, celebrated it in two or three huzzas. This entertainment was now and then suspended for a few minutes, at these intervals there were Wristling and Boxing matches; the first were performed in the same m[an]ner as at Otahiete,[1] and the second very little different from the method practiced in England.[2] But what struck us with the most surprise was to

[1] 'they wrestle much like our Cornish men, and are very expert and active at it. when any one was thrown, the Victor was complimented with the following short song, in a kind of recitative, "Tooway-Hey-O Mar to yoe" the meaning of which I am ignorant. the first word (Tooway) was sung out by a single person, dwelling on the last syllable, and the rest in full chorus by the men on that side of the ring to which he belonged. in wrestling with them our people were almost constantly worsted.'—Burney, 17 May; and see p. 1027 n.

[2] No one else agreed with Cook over this point.—'their boxing being different from the English method which is generally looked upon as the standard, induced some of our Men to enter the ring against them, thinking to retrieve the credit lost at wrestling: but in this they were so much mistaken that of 4 or 5 who tried, not one escaped being knockd down; and as they did not take the drubbing with the moderation and good temper before remarked in the Natives, were heartily laughed at; for our Men contrary to the established custom, always demanded a renewal of the conflict which, by the bye, was never suffered though both parties were willing.'—Burney, 17 May. Add to this Anderson, 18 June: 'Some of our people ventur'd to contend with them in both excercises but were always worsted except in a few cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the person who engag'd.' On

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

648 see a couple of lusty wenches step forth and without the least cere-
541 mony fall to boxing, and with a[s] much art as the men. The contest
did not last above half a minute before one gave it up; the Victor
526 received the aplause of the spectors in the same manner as the men.
We expressed some dislike at this part of the entertainment[1] this how-
ever did not prevent two others from entering the list, who seemed to be
girls of spirit and would certainly have given each other a good drubing
had not two old Women got up and parted them. These several
contests were carried on in the midst of at least three thousand people
and with the greatest good humour on all sides, though some, Women as
well as men must have received blows they must feel some time after.[2]

648 As soon as these deversions were over, the Chief told me, that the
fruit &c[a] on our right was for Omai and what lay on the left which
431 was about two thirds of the whole, was for me; he told me I might
take it on board whenever it was convenient, nor was it necessary to
leave any body to look after it for not so much as a single Cocoanut
would be taken away, and so it proved for I left every thing behind
and returned on board to dinner carrying the chief along with me,
and yet when I came to send for them on board nothing was missing.
There was as much as loaded four boats and far exceeded any present
I had ever before received from an Indian Prince. I took the oppor-
tunity of his being on board to make him a return so much to his satis-
faction, that as soon as he went a shore he made me a nother present
consisting of 2 large hogs a large quantity of cloth and some yams.[3]

[648] which we have a later comment. 'The remark is a tolerable just one', says Mariner (II,
[541] p. 213, n.). 'The natives themselves mentioned the circumstance to Mr Mariner, stating
that they allowed the Papalangies to get the victory sometimes, because they did not like
[526] to beat the poor fellows so much.'

[1] '. . . several Women enterd the Ring and began a boxing, two very fine Young Girls advanced to engage, one of our Gentlemen perhaps smitten got up and interfered, which produced Loud Shouts of Applause as well as much mirth among the Spectators.'—Edgar, 18 May.

[2] 'the diversions and exercises of these people were conducted with a degree of temper truly commendable, and which few are capable of; the conquerors not shewing any signs of exultation, nor the beaten party appearing in the least abashed. on the contrary, he returns to his Seat with as much unaffected chearfulness as when he entered the lists. it is not in the power of every man who suffers the disgrace of being worsted, to avoid feeling some degree of malevolence towards his antagonist. when any man advances and gives a general challenge, if another enters the lists whom he thinks too hard for him, or whom he does not chuse to encounter, he returns to his seat without being laughed at for his defection. during the whole of these exercises, the most perfect order was preserved. when engaged they used their utmost skill and strength: but if any thing like ill blood appeared between the combatants, the friends of either party interposed and seperated them immediately.'—Burney, 17 May.—'During these exhibitions the most perfect order was observ'd, owing as we afterwards found to the unlimited power of the Cheifs who wou'd order a Man to parade round the Ring & knock down indiscriminately Men Women or Children who Stood up or in the least disorder'd the Ring.'—Edgar, 18 May.

[3] 'at Noon the Indians returnd two Catts they had Stolen from us.'—Edgar, 18 May. Kepa's son had been detected stealing a cat, for which he was put in irons. Clerke was in great anguish about these cats: see pp. 1310–11 below.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

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Pl. 19. Tongan boxing

Drawing by Webber. – B.M., Add. MS 15513.9

[Facing p. 144-D]

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time we all faced about and formed a large semicircle before the Prince, leaving a large open place between us. Presently there appeared some men coming to wards us, two and two bearing large sticks or poles on their Shoulders making a noise like singing and waving their hands as they came. As soon as they got close up to us they made shew of walking very fast without advancing a single step; presently three or four men started up from the crowd with large sticks in their hands and ran to those new comers who instantly threw down the poles from their shoulders and ran off, and the others fell on these poles and beat them most unmercifully and then returned to their places. As the men ran off they gave the challenge usual in wristling, and not long after a number of stout fellows came from the same quarter, giving the Challenge as they advanced, these were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at the same instant; these two parties paraded the Area for a few minutes and then retired each to his own side. After this there was wrestling and boxing Matches for about half an hour, then two men seated themselves before the Prince and made a speach address'd I thought wholy to him, with this the ceremony ended and the whole assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several Baskets which had been brought in, a thing I was not allowed to do before because every thing was then *Tabu*, but the ceremony being over they became simply what they realy were, viz. empty baskets, so that whatever they were supposed to Contain was emblematically represented, and so indeed was every other thing they brought in except the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning not only of the whole but the different parts of this ceremony, we seldom got any other answers to our enquir[i]es than *Tabu*, a word which as I have before observed is applied to many other things. But as the Prince was the principal person concerned in it, and we had been told by the King ten days before it happened, that the people would bring in yams for them two to eat and even described some part of the ceremony, we concluded from this and what we saw, that it was an Oath of Alligiancy or solemn promise which they made the Prince as the immediate successor to the Regale Dignity, to stand by him and to furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically represented. But be this as it will the whole was conducted with a great deal of Ceremonious solemnity, and that it was mixed with a great deal of Religion is evident not only from the place where it was performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and deportment had never been called in question on any account what-

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adorned with tufts of trees and here and there plantations, make a very beautiful Landskip from whatever point they are viewed. Whilest I was viewing these delightfull spots, I could not help flatering my self with the idea that some future Navigator may from the very same station behould these Medows stocked with Cattle, the English have planted at these islands. Our guides informed us that all or most of the land on this island belonged to the great Lords of Tongatabu and that the Inhabitants were only tenants or rather Vassals to them; indeed it seemed to be the same at all the other isles except Anamocka, where there were some chiefs who seemed to act with some kind of independency.[1] Omai who was a great favourate with Feenough and these people in general, was offered to be made Chief of this island if he would stay amongst them, and it is not clear to me but Omai would have stayed if I had approved of it, but altho I disaproved of it, it was not because I thought he would do better in his own Native
Mon. 14 isle. The next Morning I planted a pine apple and sowed the seeds of Millons &c[a] in the Cheifs Planatation, and had a dish of Turnips to dinner, being the produce of the seeds I left last Voyage.
Tues. 15 The 15[th] I had fixed upon for Sailing, till Taoofa press'd me to stay a day or two longer to receive his present of yams &c[a] this and the daily expectation of seeing some of our friends from Tonga-
Wed. 16 tabu made me comply. Accordingly the next day I received the Cheifs present consisting of two small heaps of yams and some fruit. On this occasion most of the people of the island had assembled at the place, and as usual gave us not a little trouble to prevent them from pelfering whatever they could lay their hands upon. We were entertained with Cudgeling, Wristling and Boxing Matches, the latter both by Men and Women. And in the evening we were to have had singing and dancing, but an accident either put a total stop to it or at least prevented any of us from staying a shore to see it. This was a party of the Indians knocking down one of my people and striping him of every thing he had on his back. On hearing of this I immediately seized on two Canoes and a large hog and insisted on Taoofa causing the things to be restored and the offenders to be delivered up to me; he seemed much concerned at what had happened and forthwith took the necessary steps to satisfy me. This affair, so alarmed the people that most of them fled, however when they found I took no other measures to revenge the insult they returned.[2] It was not long

[1] This last clause is rather difficult to follow, unless Cook is referring to the pretensions of Finau—and the argument here seems to be political. The sentence generally seems to overdo the territorial power of the 'great Lords', although some of them had possessions in other islands than Tongatapu. 'Tenants' would certainly be more correct than 'vassals'.

[2] 'The natives here stript W[m] Collett y[e] Capt[ns] steward naked except is shoes, as he was

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weather. The people employ'd in wooding, mending sails &c as usual on shore, & those on board in getting up the empty water casks &c.

In return for the entertainment we receiv'd yesterday a party of marines were order'd to go through their excercise on the spot where the dances were perform'd last night. Poulaho with the other principal people were present, and all the spectators were well pleas'd with the several motions when properly done, but they easily discern'd the aukwardness of some of their monuvres which afforded them matter for much mirth. They could not however help expressing their surprize at some platoons that were tolerably exact, and still more at the distance they saw the bullets fly to upon the water, but they seem'd to pay little attention to the fife and drum or french horns that play'd in the intervals.

In the evening we exhibited some fire works on the same spot, which was convenient from being close to the water side, and they expressd a considerable degree of wonder at some of them, especially the water rockets and two false fires, the first of which some of them were apprehensive would come on shore when they saw them change their place so frequently in the water, and very seriously ask'd the question. We found that the diversions which were shown us yesterday had been done entirely by the orders of Mareewagee and Toobou, for the two piles of Yams that lay in the ground where they had been perform'd were given to Cap^tn Cook as a present (with some pieces of cloth) and most probably were levy'd as a tribute for that purpose, from the equality of what every man brought.

The circle of natives about the tent being pretty large they engag'd the greatest part of the afternoon in boxing and wrestling, the first of which they call Fanga'tooa, the other Foohoo.[1] When any of them chuses to wrestle he gets up from one side of the ring, crosses the ground in a sort of [measured] pace clapping smartly on the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound that is reckon'd the challenge. If no person appears from the opposite side to engage him he returns in the same manner and sits down, but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground to provoke some one to come out. If an opponent appears they come together with marks of the greatest good nature, generally smiling and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth they wear which is fastened about the waste. They then lay hold of each other by the piece of cloth, or a girdle which they sometimes wear, with a hand on each side and one endeavours to draw his antagonist to him, which if he is so lucky as to effect he immediately trys to lift him upon his breast and throw him

[1] He has got the words reversed: *fuha* is boxing, *fangatua* is wrestling.

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526 down on his back; and if he is able to turn round with him two or three times in that position before he throws him it never fails of procuring plaudits from the spectators. If they are more equally match'd they often close soon and endeavour to throw each other by intwinning their legs, or lifting each other from the ground, in which struggles they show a prodigious exertion of strength, every muscle as it were being ready to burst with straining and sometimes of such a size as would serve for an artist to draw from a living Hercules, but it appears that the person who is evidently the strongest is often thrown at this time from accident. When one is thrown he immediately quits the field, but the victor sits down for a few seconds, gets up and goes to the side he came from, who proclaim the victory aloud in a sentence deliver'd slowly and with a musical cadence. After sitting a short space he gets up again & challenges, when sometimes one sometimes four, five or six make their appearance, but he has the privilege of chusing which he pleases to wrestle with, and has likewise the preference of challenging again if he throws his antagonist, untill he is himself vanquish'd & then the opposite side sing the song of victory in favour of their Champion. It also often happens that five or six rise from each side and challenge together, in which case it is common to see three or four couple engag'd on the field at once; but it is astonishing to see what temper they preserve in this excercise, for we saw no instance of their leaving the spot with the least displeasure in their countenance but full as chearfull as when they enter'd. When they find they are so equally match'd as not to be likely to throw each other they leave off by mutual consent,[a] and if the fall of one is not fair or it does not appear very clearly who had the advantage both sides sing the victory & they engage again, but no person who has been vanquish'd can engage with his antagonist a second time. One of them has sometimes thrown eight or nine successively.

[151] The boxers advance side ways changing the side at every pace, with one arm stretchd fully out before, the other behind, and holding a piece of cord in one hand which they wrap firmly about it when they find an antagonist, or else have done so before they enter, which I imagine is done to prevent a dislocation of the hand or fingers. Their blows are directed chiefly to the head but sometimes to the sides and are dealt out with great activity: they shift sides & box equally well with both hands, but one of their favourite and most dexterous blows is to turn round on their heel just as they have struck

[a] I have seen them after every effort had been tried on each side for a quarter of an hour oblig'd to leave off, and then seemingly displease'd not at each other but each with himself that he did not posess skill superior to that of his antagonist.

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their antagonist and give him another very smart one with the other hand backwards. The boxing matches seldom last long, and the partys either leave off together or one acknowledges his being beat in that manner, but they never sing the victory in these cases unless one strikes his antagonist to the ground, which shows that of the two wrestling is their most approv'd diversion. Not only boys engage as often as the men in both these excercises, but frequently little girls who are generally mention'd by some person in the circle, box very bitterly for a short time; in all which cases it does not appear that they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquish'd, and the person overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had never enterd the lists. Some of our people ventur'd to contend with them in both excercises, but were always worsted, except in a few cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the person who engag'd.

THURSDAY 19th. The weather pretty good but at night cloudy with some showers of rain. Our people employ'd as usual. The Captain made a distribution to day of the live stock he intended to leave here, giving a heifer, bull and cow to Poulaho, a horse and mare to Feenou, and a ram with two ewes to Mareewagee, at the same time time giving directions how they should be rear'd and propogated: but they did not show any particular marks of satisfaction as if they considerd them a usefull acquisition.

FRIDAY 20th. The wind E or EBN. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. The people employ'd as usual. In the morning two of the Turkeys on shore were missing, and upon suspicion that the Indians had stole them the Captain confind Poulaho & Feenou with a guard at the tent, and orderd a large Canoe that was along side the ship to be detain'd; but they were soon releas'd on producing an axe and wedge & one of the Turkeys that had been stolen before, with a promise to restore the other Turkey.

SATURDAY 21st. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather but at night a few showers and squalls. The Indians, many of whom had been absent for two days from their being unable to procure victuals upon the spot, collected in great numbers about the tent and in the morning two large piles, each compos'd of the trunks of four trees plac'd near [each] other in a square about thirty feet high, were erected with pieces fastend across to get up by. These were fill'd to the top with large yams, and in the forenoon a number

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of people brought a good many fish which were chiefly mullet, and others carry'd small ones stuck on branches as at Mareewagees though more numerous in a kind of procession. They also brought a small Turtle and afterwards a great many more Yams, all of which with a piece of cloth, a mat and bit of red feathers were given as a present to the Captain by Poulaho, besides two hogs which were carry'd up and fasten'd to crown the two piles of Yams. About one o'clock they began the Mai or dances, the first of which was almost a copy of the first we saw at Mareewagees house. The second was conducted by the Toobou, who also danc'd there, and had four or five women in it who went through the several parts with as much exactness as the men. Towards the end they divided to leave room for two men who excercis'd their clubs as mentioned in the first dances, and in the third which was the last two more did the same. The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing, and one man entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a Cocoa leaf which is firm and heavy, but could not find one that would engage him at so rough a sport. At night we had the Bo'mai repeated, in which Poulaho himself danc'd, but neither these nor the dances in the day were so considerable or carried on with such spirit as those at Mareewagees, which proves that in this as well as other countrys there are private men able sometimes to give entertainments superior to their Kings.

SUNDAY 22. The wind Easterly. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. The people unemployed. Some of our Gentlemen set out yesterday morning to see the interior part of the island, and after walking some way met with a lake or Lagune which they cross'd in a Canoe, and is probably an arm running from the Bay mentiond before to the westward as they did not see its communication with the sea. They then cross'd to the opposite side of the island, some parts of which they found very well cultivated, and stay'd all night but found the inhabitants not very willing to supply them with provisions though they treated them civilly in other respects. On returning back to day one of them had his gun unexpectedly snatch'd from him by some of the people that follow'd them, and another trusting a young man to carry his lost it by the other setting off though he had carried it many miles.

MONDAY 23. The wind from NE to NNW. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy weather, a close air and in the evening a good deal of rain. In the morning the cutter with the Master and the Discoverys cutter

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651 would continue to day when that part of it would be perform'd.
796 Unwilling to let slip any part of it which might afford some information of their religious or political opinions we went back to Mooa this morning, but found it did not begin till the afternoon. There was
[644] none of that introductory part perform'd as in the forenoon yesterday, and the first thing we saw was the young prince immediately preceding the women with the cloth who were not so numerous today. He was dress'd with the cloth as before, and having retir'd under the shade after his Fathers arrival two men each with a bit of mat came repeating something seriously and put them about him. The procession then appeard which was not so considerable as yesterday, and instead of bits of sticks and yams carried a piece of Cocoa leaf plaited under the poles, but the last part had fish of all sorts which they laid
[597] down in the same place. After this the men with branches and runners perform'd as yesterday, and then one man took each stick that had been brought and laid down, always repeating something to another who continued reciting a harangue in a serious tone, but when the fish came a person always made a snatch at & endeavourd to force them from the others but seldom succeeded, during which the
[526] prince frequently turn'd himself round under the shade. The last part was twenty wrestlers who enterd the field challenging, which was succeeded by several wrestling and some boxing matches, with this difference that one person directed it, which is not done in the common way nor did they proclaim the victory when any one was defeated. None of the people assisting in the ceremony to day were arm'd.

This ceremony which is call'd Natche[1] has so much mystery running through the whole that it is hard to tell whether it is most of the religious or political kind. That it should be done so secretly and with such restrictions as to exclude all but the persons immediately assisting[a] would argue it of the first sort, but there are many circumstances which perswade us to think that it has still a greater share of
[644] the last. I apprehend it is a sort of oath of allegiance which they take to the heir of the crown (who seemd the principal person concern'd), and that the Cloth, mats, Yams & other things are mer[e]ly representations of what they engage to furnish him with in future, as they have done his father, who either from an ancient custom or

[177] [a] Captain Cook and Omai were both present on the place of action to day, the one with his cloaths off down to the waste & the other in a dress of the country, but it appear'd the natives would rather have dispens'd with such a proof of our curiosity had they not been averse to giving us offence.

[1] *'inasi.*

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wash their hands with a piece of the plantane tree broke and rubb'd over them, the husk of the cocoa nut or any thing that has moisture, which serves on all occasions and is a lesson necessity (from the scarcity of water) has certainly taught them.

The situation of their houses was mention'd before; but notwithstanding their method of life requires they should be much scatterd, that each man may cultivate his own ground, they are very fond of associating together, so that it is common to find several houses empty and the owners conven'd in some other one or a convenient spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by conversing and other amusements. Their private diversions are chiefly singing, dancing and music perform'd by the women. When one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers it is calld oo'bai,[1] but when there is a great number they divide into several partys each of whom sings on a different key which makes a very agreeable music and is call'd Heeva. In the same manner they vary the music of their flutes by playing on those of a different size, but their dancing is much as when they perform publickly. The dancing of the men (if it is to be call'd dancing) although it does not consist much in moving the feet as we do, has a thousand different motions with the hands to which we are entire strangers. They seem to be as numerous as all the steps in our different dances taken together, & perform'd with an ease and grace which is not to be describ'd, nor conceiv'd but by those who have seen them. It appears indeed to be one of the principal articles of their education, for the boys when very young are constantly practising them and at no great age perform them as dexterously as those that are grown up. There are some others which may be calld their house diversions practic'd by the grown people, one of which nam'd Kaka'habo[2] is exactly upon the same principle as our Cup and ball. It is done by fastening a bit of Tortoise shell, four inches long & one broad with the ends turn'd up above an inch & fork'd, across the end of a small rod about four feet long, near the other end of which a small round gourd shell is fix'd with a string just of a sufficient length to allow its being thrown into the tortoise shell. They also fasten the hard round seed of a plant larger than a musket ball to each end of a string about two feet long,

[1] *'ofe*. The word has changed its meaning, being now equivalent to 'lullaby'. But it must always have had a wide significance: Mariner says (II, p. 217) *'Oofe*. This kind of singing is always accompanied with the *fango-fango*, (or nose-flute). The subjects of the song are much the same as those last described, but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave.' The songs 'last described' were 'descriptive of scenery . . . descriptive of past events, or of places which are out of their reach, such as *Boleteo* and *Papalangi*.'

[2] Mariner calls the game 'habo', and says it was practised by women only. *Hepekapo* is to keep on throwing something up and catching it.

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& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Laki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matamatakupenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

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a break in the reef which they enter by here, and is the only place where landing is practicable. Unmoord ship in the morning. A little to the left of the landing place there is a kind of creek that runs up a little way into a large cleft chink or gully, the sides of which are formd by rugged rocks at least forty feet high, which I found upon examination to be the same as that calcareous substance[a] found on the highest part of Annamooka; from whence it is probable the Basis of this Island is of that substance and perhaps the craggs to the eastward, as this, is a division directly in a solid part of it. There was two places with excellent water near the upper part which with a little trouble might be conveyd down so as to water a ship, but it seems doubtfull if there is such a quantity to be always found in these places. It was so cool in this place, which is always shelter'd from the sun, that we found several of the sorts of fern growing in New Zeeland & some others here. We also found on returning by the high grounds that the rains for two days passd had washd down a kind of iron sand, like that us'd to dry up ink, upon the paths which was every where sparkling but so mixd with the common mould that no quantity could be collected.

Our people traded as yesterday and the chief Ta'oofa made the Captain a present of two pretty large piles of yams, which seemd to be collected by a kind of contribution as at the other isles. He also entertaind us with boxing and wrestling and as an Introduction several pairs of women box'd with the true spirit of female acrimony, one of the first sending off her antagonist with a bloody nose, but these matches seldom lasted long before some of their own sex rose and interposd. Whether the old observation is true that in enmity a woman is a more implacable adversary than a man, and that our present example will help to decide it I will not determine, but I am rather inclind to think their passion for speedy and universal conquest was the reason of our heroines engaging with such irresistible fury, as the shame of being conquer'd seemd to affect them more than the severity of the blows. At the same time we could not observe without pleasure another instance of the many we had seen before amongst the men of the great temper and even generosity they exhibit in sports which are properly their province, and ought never to engage female delicacy, for two of these after boxing a considerable time with great spirit and dexterity, and finding neither was likely to overcome, desisted suddenly and embracing kiss'd each other with

[a] If this is to be considerd as coral it is very different from that coarse calcareous basis from which all growing corals that spring from it seem to derive their support or rather covering, and is therefore to be reckond a distinct species or has perhaps no affinity to it.

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526 [157] a cordiality which left no room to doubt but they were convinc'd of their mutual merit & that malice had no share in urging them to the combat. Many people likewise fought with clubs of the hard heavy Cocoa nut stem, a diversion I think the most exceptionable they have, both because it is in some degree cruel and requires no dexterity so that the advantage must generally be on the side of strength. These Champions collected in a body on each side of the circle and when any of them wanted to engage would come and sit down in the middle of the open space, when some from the opposite side would advance or if not he retreated to his party. When the challenge was accepted the pair began without any ceremony and beat from above upon each others heads and shoulders without mercy either till they left off by mutual consent or broke their clubs to pieces which [177] frequently happened. It can scarcely be doubted but accidents sometimes happen at this rough diversion, in which they all show'd a kind of reluctance to engage, yet we saw no method they us'd to defend themselves from the blows farther than holding down the face, except in one man who had a very large thick semicircular breast plate made of one piece of bone hung round his neck which they said 648 was of the manufacture of Feejee. They intended to have finishd with the Bo'mai or night dance but an accident put a stop to our entertainment. The Captains servant walking a very little way was surrounded by twenty or thirty of the natives who knockd him down and strip'd him of every thing but his shoes. The Captain immediately seiz'd two Canoes, & not long after they brought the trowsers and a shirt that had been stole from another person. They then brought a young lad who they said was the thief, and in a short time a hog to 609 redeem him, but night coming on he was carried on board. I cannot 674 help observing on this occasion that in this as in all other countrys, there are some individuals who being total strangers to every sentiment of justice and humanity are continually watching oppurtunitys to commit acts of violence & rapine which renders them pests to society. In these countrys however there is a kind of intelligence kept up, perhaps superior to the best regulated police of civiliz'd nations, by which such offenders are so easily detected that with respect to themselves there are probably fewer instances of this kind [648] than in most other places. But with respect to strangers they certainly think they can take such advantages with less risque of being discoverd, either from their hopes of our laying aside a search which in all probability they know must give us a great deal of trouble, or from their being sensible of the impossibility of effecting such a discovery without the concurrence of their chief, whom they may

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Combat. Some time afterwards it was observed that the Exercise performed by a few Men commanded only by two Chiefs was something different from that before described, for here the two Chiefs brandishing their Clubs ran backwards & forwards along the front of the Line, & were distinguished as the Commanders by performing a seperate Duty from their Men.

When these Exercises were over, Preparations were made by us for exhibiting Fireworks in the Evening, The Gunner having some in his charge for the purpose. While these were getting ready some of us took a walk a little way into the Country, which was exceedingly beautiful & pleasant, & they were treated by the People wherever they went with the greatest Kindness and Hospitality; others remained on the Campus Martius (if it may be so called) & were entertained with boxing Matches by the Women. A Woman advanced a little way into the Ring & sat down which was understood as a Challenge & was not long unaccepted of; in the boxing they neither close nor pull hair & aim all their blows at the face taking care not to strike lower. As the engagement is not suffered to continue long it is seldom decisive, for after having exchanged 5 or 6 Blows some Friend steps between & parts them & they return to their Seats. Two fine Young Girls advancing one of our Gentlemen got up & interposed which produced loud Shouts of Applause and much mirth. This Diversion having lasted some time was succeeded by another Exercise which may be termed rather barbarous & cruel. Several young Men made their appearance with Clubs made of the green branches of the Cocoa nut tree about three feet long & 3 or 4 inches in thickness, they advance into the ring making Motions & flourishes which are meant as general Challenges; afterwards particular Challenges are given, when all retire except the two Combatants who fall to & bang one another most unmercifully till one of the Clubs broke or one of them was knocked down which put an end to the Conflict. The News of the Fire works had before night spread over most part of the Island and drawn together a prodigious Concourse of People & among them the greatest number of beautiful Girls that we had yet seen. They were all waiting with eager Expectation when about 8 o'Clock the first Piece, a Water Rocket, was played off; it is not possible to convey by words an adequate Idea of the Astonishment & Surprize they expressed at seeing fire burn in the Sea, & now & then even diving under water, then rising & shining with redoubled Lustre & at last going off with a sudden & unexpected Explosion. They knew not what to think of us or of what they saw. They had hardly recovered from the Astonishment into

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177 of our people who informed them that he had been attacked by
two Indians who had knocked him down & stripped him of his
648 Cloaths; he had been rambling in search of a mistress when some
difference arose between the contracting parties which ended in the
above manner, he was severely reprimanded & strict orders were
given by the Officers ashore to prevent such quarrels for the future.

439 JUNE 12th. Early this morning the Tents were surrounded by a great
number of the natives who brought provisions & various other
articles of Traffic: for the Conveniency of Trade a regular market
was established & the Gunner from each Ship was appointed to
manage it & buy Provisions. The Indians were directed to sit down
round the Area & not to pass a certain boundary along which a
Sentry was ordered to walk; the Indians complyed with these
Regulations & Trade was carried on between us with perfect Har-
mony, and we were plentifully supplied with Hogs, Yams, Bread
fruit, Cocoa nuts & Plantains which we bought at a reasonable price,
our Hatchets and Nails being in great esteem among them. At the
same time that the Market ashore was well stocked the Ships re-
ceived no inconsiderable supply from the Canoes, so that having more
Hogs than were expended by the daily Consumption of the Ships we
648 salted much Pork for sea Store at this Island. One of our people paid
643 a visit early to the King whom he found drinking Ava attended by
many of his Chiefs. The man wishing to shew his respect to his
majesty & concluding that our Method of saluting would not be
understood by him endeavourd to pay Homage to him after the
manner of the Country, but being very aukward in performing the
Ceremony his Majesty & all his Courtiers burst into Laughter; poor
Powlohow himself was so delighted that he laughed himself into a fit
of the Pthisic[1] & was for some time unable to speak, however at last
he recovered himself & made the Man sit down by him, & was
seemingly pleased with this blundering Testimony of his respect.

439 JUNE 13th. The Long Boat was employed in watering and the Sail-
makers sent on shore to repair the Sails, while the Inhabitants are
fully employed in bringing Hogs & Yams to the Ship & to the Market
at the Tents, for which we give them nails and Hatchets.

526 WEDNESDAY JUNE 18th. Our marines were excercised on shore, &
in the Evening fire works were play'd off to the great astonishment of
648 the Indians, who in the Afternoon entertained us with their Exercise
541 of boxing & wrestling, which are conducted in the following Manner
177 within the Area before our Tents amidst a prodigious Concourse of

[1] i.e. phthisic, used loosely for a bad fit of coughing.

56: Samwell1 D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Spectators. The Indians are divided into two Parties, the Wrestlers go out from each Side one, two, or three as it happens. The Wrestling is generally introduced by the Boys of ab[t] 6 or 7 years old, & is then taken up by older ones & so on till the old men themselves are at last engaged, tho' they seldom make their appearance till the boxing is introduced, where more Manhood & Skill is required. He who goes out first gives a formal Challenge to all round by laying the left Arm across the Breast & striking it hard with the right hand open, which gives a smart Sound; as he continues to do this he runs with a moderate pace up & down the Circle, and if no one comes out to answer the Challenge which is performed in the same manner, he continues it till he arrives at the place from whence he set out & then takes his seat, but it seldom happens that he does not meet with an Opponent; when they close they lay hold of each other by a platted Girdle which they put on for this purpose. In general the Contest is but short; when it is ended both the Victor and vanquished rise & pay their respects to Powlohow by sitting down before him cross legg'd & touching his feet with their Heads, after which they return to their respective Sides. He that is conquered retires silently, while the other as he goes off repeats the Challenge and is received by his Party with a Song of Triumph, which is repeated very loud in a kind of recitative; the Words are 'Too way Hey O mār tō yo ē',[1] the first word is sung by a single person & the rest in full Chorus by the Party to which the Conqueror belonged. A Continuance of the Exercise excites their Emulation & the young Men grow impatient for the lists, this sometimes brings on half a dozen matches at once, which when those who seemed to sit as Judges & Conductors of the Games perceived they put a stop to them by introducing the Boxing.

The first step taken in this Exercise is to bind the clenched fist with a small Chord so that it cannot be opened; this done, he who gives the Challenge goes out & with a kind of a half jump & half hop advances slowly & with a becoming Carriage from one end of the ring to the other, & instead of the form used to challenge at wrestling, he brandishes his fists, collects & dilates his body into several kinds of guards & attacks, which he continues till his antagonist shews himself at the other end of the Circle & advances to meet him, who comes on with the same parade and Gestures as the other; they loose no time, they just put themselves in a posture of defence and the attack

[1] *Tu'u ai he 'o mou tu e*, 'Stand up and shout hurrah', an expression still current at weddings and other festive gatherings. The lengthening and distortion of vowels in a shouted recitative would account for the peculiarities of Samwell's version.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

526 begins; the Combat is sometimes long & often bloody, especially when two Veterans engage, they do not fight so much with a strait Arm as we do, but frequently wheel round & in such revolution give their antagonists most severe blows; they keep an excellent guard, & are upon the whole allowed to be very skilful Boxers by those who are the best judges of this Broughtonian[1] amusement, they are cool and deliberate from the great Command they have over their Passions. When a man finds himself fairly beat, he resigns his Claim to the laurel with perfect good Humour & most frequently goes away laughing at his own defeat. The Conqueror retires repeating the
526 Challenge & is received by his Party with the Song of Victory. These
565 Exercises are held in great Esteem among them, the Children are
[868] brought up in the Practice of them from their Infancy, especially the Sons of the Chiefs, a Boy of Phenows was observed to exert himself in a manner much superior to his years. However it must be remembered
526 that no Chiefs of any great Consequence entered the lists as boxers
411 or Wrestlers while we were here; the Exercises in which they engage are those of the Battle ax and Club, the former of which has been mentioned in the Transactions at Happai, the latter being so rough an Exercise we never saw put in practice, tho' a Chief well known to us & related to Powlohow came into the ring with his Club & gave a Challenge to any one by brandishing it about in the air, but no one was found to accept it, on which he laid down his club & turning round to his father paid him the usual Compliment, then took up his weapon and went out of the Circle; we were informed that he was superior to any man on the Island at this Exercise, he is a very stout young fellow, he has lost one Eye in fighting with the Club. This undoubtedly is the principal Weapon used in their Wars, they have Spears & Bows & arrows, but, the latter especially, these can be but of very little use. Some of the stoutest of our people often entered the lists to box and wrestle with them, but they always were worsted.

648 Thus were the Evenings spent after our people had done work &
685 the Market was over, & the only thing that interrupted the Harmony subsisting between us & the Natives was the frequent Thefts they committed both in the Ship and on shore; the L[t] of Marines who lay on shore on duty had his bed stole, some say from under him while he was asleep but this is rather improbable, however he lost his bed &

[1] Cf. Clerke, p. 1303 below, 'Strangers to the art of Broughtonizing'. John Broughton (1705–89), a hero of the age, 'the father of British pugilism', who exchanged his profession of Thames waterman for the nobler one of public bruiser. He instructed royalty, as well as the aristocracy and gentry, in his art, and was laid to rest in Lambeth Church beneath the lapidary inscription *Pugil avi sui praestantissimus.*

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Among their Amusements has been omitted the following which the Children use, the first is keeping four balls up for a long time like some of the slight of hand gentry do in England. The other is darting a Stick with an oval head a great way which they do by striking it first against the ground, it then rebounds to a considerable distance, this is a play very common among the young boys.

During our Stay among them they did not seem to have any quarrels on their Hands either foreign or domestic, however they informed us that a little time before our Arrival they had been at War with the People of an Island called Fidgee which they said lay to the WNW at the distance of five day's Sail which may be abt 200 Leagues. By their Account this Island of Fidgee is much larger than Tongataboo, & the People numerous & as they say Cannibals. However at this [time] there were some of the Natives of that Island at Tongataboo, & it is probable that the two Isles carry on a Trade in time of peace. We saw some pieces of Cloth very curious & prettily painted which they told us came from Fidgee & that none like it was made at Tongataboo.

It is probable that the white people above described are the same with those mentioned in the Spanish Voyages published by Dalrymple & which he supposes were the Inhabitants of the Southern Continent which the Spaniards were in search of. The nonexistence of which was proved so incontestibly by Captn Cook in his last Voyage that it must put a stop to any further Cavils & idle suppositions from the Editor of those Voyages.

Superiority of Birth seems to be held in high Estimation at these Islands, The natives priding themselves much on being related to the Chiefs whom they immagine to be the greatest Potentates upon Earth, or indeed in the Skies; for in speaking of those of the highest Rank they always told us that they were 'Agee la langee agee lalo fonooa',[1] which signifies Kings of the Skies above & of the Earth below, at the same time pointing with their Fingers to the Sky & the Earth. And as the Chiefs were held in great Veneration by all Ranks, Captn Cook always treated them with due Respect & was careful that no Insult was offered to them by any of our people. Fatafee the Brother of Powlohow[2] being on board the Resolution one day & seeing a Girl whom it seems he knew with one of the Sailors between Decks, wanted to take her away from him, but the Man having engaged her for the Night & delivered the Payment to her friends, refused to part with her and the Chief insisting upon it & going to

[1] *'Eiki he langi 'eiki lalo fonua.* The translation Samwell gives is correct, if one accepts 'kings'.

[2] Fatafehi was the family name: this was a half-brother, Ma'ulupekotofa.

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

cally express their satisfaction and approbation of each other. We were likewise entertain'd with wrestling Matches, at which exercise they shew great strength and agility, at the boxing Matches, in which they strike very hard, but have little Idea of catching a blow; they sometimes avoid it by feats of activity in skipping and bobbing aside, but are Strangers to the art of Broughtonizing.[1] The Women are introduc'd into these boxing Matches, and do pay one another about the Face and Eyes most intolerably; this however we put aside in some measure during our Stay, for to us who are accustom'd to pay such attention to the Ladies, it appear'd a most unnatural and barbarous Amusement. The Men sometimes fought with Clubs, made with the large End of Coco Tree Branches, with which they bang'd each other about the Head most heartily: now thro' all this Boxing, fighting &c, wherein they must very frequently have been most miserably hurt, such was their great good Nature and happy disposition, that I never saw any thing like a passion or the least heat of temper upon any of these Occasions among them; but tho' they were thus set on to knock each other about for the Amusement of their Superiors, they went thro' the whole Ceremony, and put up with the very disagreeable Sensations it must have occasion'd, with the same Complacency they wou'd have shewn in the most innocent and pleasing Amusements.

On the 27th arrived here another great Man from Amsterdam whose Name was Fatafa Powlahow, who gave us to understand he was Agilahi, or King, of it and all the various Isles in the Neighbourhood: to corroborate this account, he was shewn all manner of respect and attention by the People, as indeed was Feenow, who at this time was absent upon a Visit to an Isle he call'd Vow-Vow,[2] which he told us was only one days sail from this Place, and from which he promised to make an expeditious return with an abundant Present of red Feathers, and Hogs.

This Story of the rival Kings appear'd very extraordinary, but Capt Cook and myself of course, courted the friendship of King Powlahow, as at any rate we saw he must be a Man of extensive Power, and consequently by us to be attended to, However as Feenow did not return to the time he had promis'd, we concluded that his Absence was to avoid the disagreeable ceremony of an Interview with a Man, where his hitherto boasted Laurels must fall to the Ground.

On the 28 Instant, having far'd at these Isles as our Friend Feenow had promised, most luxuriously; we weigh'd and stood again for Anamooka, where we anchor'd on June the 6th. Capt Cook had sown some Seeds of various kinds during our last Stay here, and was desirous of seeing how the Country agreed with them; some he found in a tolerable State, but others of them had been so ill used by Insects, as to render their being of future Service rather improbable.

Both Powlahow and Feenow soon join'd us here; I was present at the first Interview that happen'd between them, when Feenow did the homage of a Subject to Powlahow, but with such a dejection of countenance and

[1] See note on Samwell, p. 1028 above. [2] Vava'u.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga in approximately June, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now opens the Tonga Legislative Assembly with a formal speech. In *lieu* of the *'inasi 'ufimotu'a* ceremony which took place in approximately the September-November period, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now travels to the various islands in the archipelago for the official opening of the yearly agriculture shows. The role of the *'inasi* in the past has thus been taken over (or has been substituted) by Legislative Assembly activities and the yearly agriculture shows.

The formal closing of the Legislative Assembly also takes place in approximately the same time period as the yearly agriculture shows. However, it is His Majesty's travelling to the various islands for the agriculture shows and the inevitable formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony which takes place on each island which serves as the new (and extremely necessary) focal point for Tongan unity. The opening and closing speeches by His Majesty to the Legislative Assembly focus around Tongs's accomplishments and hopes for the future. The speeches to the assembled individuals serve the same function as the speeches given at the *'inasi* BUT it is the activities associated with the agricultural shows with the formal *Taumafa kava* which provide the contemporary "seal of approval" on Tongan life.

The individual island shows last for several days and the circuit of the entire archipelago for all of the shows can last several weeks. The shows are complete with dancing, the presentation of foodstuffs to His Majesty (for redistribution to the Royal Party), and involve the judging of livestock, crops, traditional Tongan handicrafts (including *kava* bowls, Tongan "wooden pillows" or *kali*, and fine mats). Competition between various individuals (and villages) takes place in the form of soccer, horse and bicycle racing, foodstuff and fine mat presentation.

In brief, what was once performed on the Island of Tongatapu under the rubric of the *'inasi* ceremony now takes place on the various islands under the rubric of "yearly agriculture show."

The *'inasi* was a combination of "public amusement" and "religious observance" and the agriculture shows today are a combination of amusement and religious re-dedication to the land. Speeches at the agriculture shows deal with the accomplishments of the previous agricultural year and the role of religion in Tongan life. When His Majesty travels to each of the shows on the various islands (Niua'fou, Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and 'Eua) the traditional homages are accorded him on each of the islands: dances are performed, baked food is given as a welcome, and the eventual *Taumafa kava* takes place. The *Taumafa kava*, with His Majesty as the guest of honor at the various islands, provides all assembled Tongans with a sense of belonging to Tonga. His Majesty is accompanied by special *matapules* who see that the *kava* circle is arranged properly. His Majesty receives the first bowl of *kava* and then the other assembled island dignitaries receive theirs, in descending

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

of the Gospel" (13 February 1850), and he wrote again, on 15 January 1851: "Many young people have cast away the restraints of religion".(37) Modern theologians would consider that these worthy men were insisting upon Old Testament law rather than "the Gospel". 797 794

The missionaries held the rigid views of behaviour found among Evangelicals in the mid-19th Century. They believed that prohibitions were necessary to mark the conversion from pagan practices, and they were saddened by instances of reaction against their policy. The Tonga Circuit report 1853-4 lamented the fact that "many who manifest great anxiety to progress in civilization imagine it necessary to throw off the restraints of religion".(38)

The Tongans' much-loved dancing was condemned by the early missionaries because it often led to immorality, especially late at night; it was prohibited in the Code of 1850. Actually, the words and actions of Tongan dances were more innocent than those used in other islands such as Rotuma where dances were definitely lascivious; in all cases, missionaries, who understood the languages better than most Europeans, knew the danger very well. To ban all dancing, however, and not just the night dances, was quite unjustifiable. Gradually the prohibition of these beautiful forms of recreation was relaxed. There has been no more popular, innocent, and indeed valuable cultural pastime in Tonga than the dances in which history, legends, occupations and even scenery are represented through singing and rhythmic movements. 797 535 [833]

Innocent sports, such as foot-races, canoe-races, and other diversions, were banned because they had been used in pre-Christian days, and because they occupied time that, the missionaries felt, should be given to productive employment. This insistence on a "work ethic" was characteristic of contemporary Protestant beliefs. 797 526

Smoking was prohibited for some years. Wilkes on his visit in 1840 noted that it was very popular with the non-Christians but forbidden among the converts whom Taufa'ahau had called upon to follow his example of abstinence. It was said to be undesirable and unhygienic when practised in crowded conditions. Rabone (29 September 1837) wrote that sometimes smoking led to a house being burnt down. It was also said that Tongans always swallowed the smoke, with harmful effects. More serious was the allegation that smoking gave opportunities for immoral conduct. W. G. R. Stephinson said that he had been told that, before their conversion, women smoking alongside men was a sign of their willingness to practise immorality.(39) W. J. Davis (18 March 1862) said that smoking 797 276 [833]

> is an introduction to the crying sin of Tonga, namely, fornication and adultery".(40)

The missionaries' example was emphasized. As early as 12 September 1838, Rabone wrote about another missionary who smoked:

> "Bro. ———— must either give it up or the people may be allowed".(41)

The brother in question was soon transferred to Fiji (but not, apparently, because of his smoking) and he proved a failure there, on other grounds.

Kava drinking, universally practised and rooted in Tongan custom, was never prohibited. In this respect the missionaries in Tonga differed from some of their counterparts in Fiji. 797 273

All customs associated with pre-Christian days, such as the presentation of gifts at funerals, were banned, as these were regarded as offerings to the dead. The missionaries were motivated always by the desire to make a complete external 797 178 [764]

535 /267 cont./ The reason for this decline is doubtless the
178 suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries; the restless
[792] times of the civil wars in the first half of the previous century may
[669] also have had a deterring effect. The more liberal /268/ views (726)
(794)

726. Even today the active members of the Wesleyan congregations may take part in dances only if their pastor gives them permission.

of recent times and the fact that today dances are taught in schools and are also presented at church festivals have not been able to revive this art to the height of the ancient times, for the original impulse, namely, the absolute power of the chiefs at whose command and for whom the dances were once practiced, has been too much weakened, and there is no other stimulaus that is as strong.

B. Games of Adults and Children

524 In ancient Tonga there were a great many different games (that is, activities that were carried out solely for pleasure).

524 Among adults, the chiefs and their matapule like to engage in
565 a hand-gesture game (liangi?) which had special rules; (727)

727. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 339-341; J.J. Labillardiere, Relation.../Account/ II. p. 146.

the lower classes were familiar with a similar, but simpler game (matua).. (728)

728. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 344.

524 Other games, likewise subject to rules, with several participants, were
565 lafo, played only by the nobility (played with chips thrown on a
526 mat), (729)

729. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 343; E.W. Gifford, Tongan society, p. 117.

rat shooting (fana kuma) (a hunting game) (730)

730. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 279-284.

put on by the nobility, the spear target-throwing (tolo) (in which a

/268 cont./

524 565 526 spear tossed high had to hit a wooden disk on impact) (731)

731. Ibid. II. p. 343.

and the distance-throwing of a spear (sika [mamao]) (732)

732. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 126.

by men, as well as the catch game (hiko) with a ball, of women and girls. (733)

733. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 344.

223 565 Shooting kalae birds with bow and arrow (using decoys) was a sport (fana kalae) (734)

734. See ibid. I. pp. 246-248.

carried on only by the big chiefs, just as pigeon catching (sia lupe) (with pole-nets on artificial hills, with the use of stool pigeons) was also a privilege of the nobility. (735)

735. See ibid. II. pp. 341/342; E.W. Gifford, loc. cit. p. 117.

224 526 Likewise to be mentioned are bonito fishing (alo?) (with trolling from a boat) (736)

736. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 342/343.

and surf-riding (fanifo). (737)

737. Ibid. p. 343; E.W. Gifford, loc. cit. p. 299.

526 At large festivals, sporting contests carried out before a multitude of onlookers and under the supervision of referees were very popular. On these occasions there were men's duels with clubs (fetangi?) having thick, green /269/ coconut-palm handles, (738)

738. See J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. pp. 169, 260; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

men's wrestling matches (fangatua) (739)

739. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 169, 211, 260; J. Sparks, The life of John Ledyard /cited in English/. 2nd edition.

526 /269 cont./

Cambridge 1829. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, Voyage de La Perouse.../Voyage of the Perouse/ I. p. 293; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

and boxing matches of men and women (fuhu). (740)

740. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 169/170; J. Sparks, loc. cit. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, loc. cit. I. p. 294; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

A few children's games have also been handed down to us. (741)

[113] 741. See J. D. Whitcombe, "Notes on Tongan Ethnology." /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers. vol. IX no. 9. 1930. pp. 7/8.

In the kamotu'u boys' game one of the boys standing in the center of the circle had to guess who touched him while he had his eyes closed. In the ngali ngali a toke, a boy had to catch one of a row of boys running in a circle. In the touhuhu game the boys had to try to spear with sticks a grapefruit turned on a pole. The boys also occupied themselves with a catapult (tafau), with small bows and arrows and a slingshot (makata) made of tapa or hibiscus bast. Old women played "scare and chase" with small girls by throwing tapa over themselves. Boys and girls tried to "flip" /"dipsen" is evidently a colloquial or dialect expression, and I'm not sure of the meaning. F.S./ pieces of hibiscus wood over a mat set upright (fisi-game)

524 526 198 [223] The games mentioned do not include all, but probably some of the most important activities carried out in ancient Tonga for amusement and diversion. The interest in individual games varied, and the fact that a hunting game such as pigeon catching was already "out of fashion" in 1800 (742)

742. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 341.

leads one to conclude that the number and kinds of games sometimes changed in the course of the centuries-old, autonomous development of Tongan culture.

/269 cont./

of Tongan culture.

524 526 177 178 The changes which occurred in this field in recent times as a result of European influences, however, comes close to a collapse. All the aforementioned games of adults, with the exception of lafo and hiko, have today been forgotten. Although lafo is familiar to some Tongans and is occasionally played, now also by commoners, it is rather insignificant compared to other games customary today. Hiko is apparently a children's game more than it was in the past (see below).

European games have generally replaced the ancient Tongan ones. [525] Playing cards are seen today in most settlements, and various kinds of card games (sometimes also played for money, despite prohibition) have become known in Archipelago. /270/ But sports have become more widespread. 526 177 Cricket is today rather popular and, to judge by the cement courts seen in many villages and now partly disintegrated, it was played far more a few decades ago than it is today. The natives like to use bats cut from breadfruit wood and balls made of [824] nonu wood (also, instead of these, moli Tonga = tough oranges). The enthusiasm for tennis varies in individual villages. Young Tongans especially like to play it. They play with home-made wooden rackets that in shape are copied from European rackets (or else with regular rackets) and with European rubber balls or genuine tennis balls which they buy in shops; usually an old rectangular fishnet serves as net. Such tennis games are arranged at any time of the day (except on Sundays) on grassy areas in the villages. They usually do not bother to have a precisely marked-off court, but they try to play "singles" and "doubles" with scores if they know the rules. While tennis in many villages (even on the small islands) is the typical summer game, they devote themselves to football (rugby), which involves more movement, during the cooler time of year. The players are 30 to 40 years old, and they fight with more or less skill for the ball (bought at the shopkeeper's) and the goals. In some

/270 cont./

526 villages there are also table tennis installations; the game of
177 billards, however, is limited to the chief towns of the Archipelago.

541 Horse-racing, especially on Tongatapu and Vava'u, is also popular; it is engaged in mostly by young men who race along a definite course before a rather large crowd of onlookers (of all ages and classes) on horses kept in the villages; the victor always receives a prize in
526 money or goods. At the large school sport festivals (especially in Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu), gymnastics and track-and-field events attract lively interest of the people.

857 Today, children play among themselves, for the most part also in
526 European fashion. Following the example of adults, the boys like to
177 play cricket and tennis. In this they are, of course, not pretentious; when they play tennis, for example, a rope stretched between two palm trees serves as the "net" and with a simple wooden bat they knock an
857 old tennis ball over it. Marbles bought at the storekeeper's are pop-
524 ular among smaller boys. Many boys have little kites stretched with
177 packing paper; these the boys also make more simply by /271/ inserting the midribs of two coconut leaflets crosswise through a piece of paper torn from their school notebooks and then, with the help of a string, they let this simple wind-bird provided with a tapa tail climb five to fifteen meters into the air. Empty corned-beef cans with their colorful labels also serve as toys; boys aged about eight to twelve like to push around "can scooters" consisting of two such (low) cans forming "wheels" that are nailed to the ends of a short piece of wood in the center of which the "shaft" is fastened at right angles. Ten- to twelve-year-old boys often put together small sailboats with a halved coconut (or a wooden) hull and a tree leaf (or scrap of cotton) as a sail; they let this little boat sail in shallow water. Some boys also play with carved wooden propellers that are nailed to a small rod and that
526 turn in the wind. Boys aged about eight to thirteen like to ride the
857

/271 cont./

526 surf--as did the men in ancient Tonga; several of them (up to about 20)
857 let rather big waves carry them to the beach on box lids or other pieces of wood (approximately 70-100 centimeters long) which they use as "surf-
524 boards." It is possible that the "pop-cork" game which the boys nowadays
857 seldom play is of ancient Tongan origin.
[178] It consists of a small bamboo tube, two balls of twisted tapa and a wooden rod; they stick one ball in the lower end of the tube, shove it up to the mouth with the rod, then insert the second ball and push it up with the little stick while holding the tube vertically. With a loud bang the first ball shoots high into the air.

524 Girls at the age of six to twenty still like to play the ancient
857 Tongan game of "hiko."
883
[178] They throw two to six balls (=vaine fruits [Passiflora species]) (the number of balls depending on their ski'l) into the air, one after the other, catch them successively and keep on throwing the caught balls up again, so that all buy one are in the air. Sometimes they sing
[533] children's songs to this. If there are two players the second girl has a turn if the first makes a mistake or if she has been successful throughout the singing of the entire verse. Nowadays the hiko game is also
[871] taught in school, the teacher appointing a girl /to teach it/ from the village who is particularly skilled in it.

524 "Moa" is apparently not a very old game of skill played by girls
857 approximately seven to twelve years of age.

"Moa" is played with five Aleurites nuts. Two to three girls sit together. One of them starts to play by laying the five nuts on the ground, picking one up, throwing it in the air (about 1.50 meters) and, while /272/ it is still in the air, picking up a second nut with the same hand and then catching the first one. This tossing-picking up-catching is repeated until finally all five nuts are in the girl's hand.

/272 cont./

524 857 There are numerous variations of this game; for example, in the subsequent tossing series, while the first nut is in the air, a girl will pick up three of the four nuts lying on the ground and finally the last one, or she will keep all five nuts in her hand, throw one in the air, put another on the ground while the first one is in flight, then catch the first one and continue with this tossing-putting down-catching until all five nuts have been placed on the ground. If she misses catching one, if her hand slips, she has lost and another girl takes her turn.

Nowadays girls also sometimes play "Hinkekasten" /?/ and the smaller ones also simply play with empty cans to which they fasten a piece of string so that they have a little pail. The coconut-shell "stilts" with which one sometimes sees little girls walking around are, as the name indicates (su nge'esi niu = coconut-shell shoes), a modern toy; they put their feet on two coconut-shell halves lying on their open sides on the ground; on each of these, through a hole in the curvature, a band (for example, a pandanus-leaf strip) is fastened, and by pulling these bands which are slipped between the first two toes and drawing them taut with their hands they hold the shells firmly under their feet and can stalk about in this way.

524 526 177 [797] In summary we may say about the modern games of adults and children that most of them are of European origin. This change probably came about chiefly as a result of the influence of Wesleyan puritanical missionaries who strove to replace the "heathen games" with church services, prayers and bible-study. (743)

743. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 213/214.

[565] The democratization of the Islands brought about by Christianization led to a decline of the power of the nobility and with it the loss of games tied to the nobility, as well as group sports and contests organized at the suggestion of the nobility. After Christianization of

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524 526 [177] [517] the Archipelago European games replaced the ancient Tonga ones, some of which were by that time already forgotten or seemed uninteresting. Probably people play less today in Tonga than they did in the past, for the church takes up much of the Tongans' time, and the energy required by their work (on plantations and at copra production) is now greater than it was in past centuries. Nonetheless, the idea of play, though in new forms, has been preserved on the Islands.

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6. THEIR KNOWLEDGE

861 178 [871] In ancient Tonga the natives learned everything they needed to know for living through oral tradition; unsystematic guidance and their own experience. To judge from ancient sources, there were no "schools" of any kind (not even for priests and seafarers). The young natives of both sexes and all ranks grew into their life tasks and in this way acquired all the knowledge they needed to regulate their affairs.

Today too most Tongan men and women do not obtain the knowledge they need for their everyday life systematically; they simply imitate their elders; they learn chiefly by "seeing and taking part." Tonga--as in the past--is an island country with a predominantly farming population. Only a few trades are more widespread and, in contrast to the past, only a small group of natives out of the total number of inhabitants are engaged in newly created professions. (744)

744. See pp. 358-361.

From the standpoint of present economic life, an increase and change in their knowledge as seen from the European point of view is scarcely necessary, since in the villages children as a matter of course grow into the activities of their parents (who are "masters of their world"), and on the small islands there are few opportunities of applying the school-acquired knowledge of the whites.

871 177 797 Nevertheless, schools were established in the Archipelago as early